

Some Problems of Reconstruction

ANNIE M. MACLEAN

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Some Problems of Reconstruction

By

ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, Ph.D.

Author of "Wage-Earning Women,"

"Women Workers and Society," "Cheero," Etc.



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no 1

To My Sister

MILDRED MacLEAN

Whose clear vision has helped to focus my attention on the need for a reconstructed world

EDITOR'S PREFACE

RECONSTRUCTION during the later years of the World War was referred to everywhere as the essential step if society was to get on. The problems that were apparent in the previous decade were emphasized by war conditions and publicists urged the need of reforms and changes to meet the conditions produced by the world conflict. The close of the war, however, left all the nations, including our own, discouraged or lethargic, and slow to undertake the steps necessary to a larger social program.

A book on reconstruction at this time, despite the number already published, seems desirable. Most of the books published on the subject have been rather extended and technical for the average reader. Miss MacLean's book is, in a measure, a review of the problems of reconstruction stated in an attractive way. The book ought to be of real value in introducing to the reader the problems of reconstruction, and as such, it is given a place in the *National Social Science Series* with the feeling on the part of the editor that the public will find it of great assistance in opening the way for the study of the problems of reconstruction.

F. L. M.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS brief study is offered in the hope that it may help to stimulate interest in some of the vital problems that we, in common with other peoples, are facing at the present time. Moreover, it is presented in the belief that there are no more absorbing questions upon which to focus attention than those which have to do with a reconstructed world. Unless more favorable conditions for all men emerge, the devastating war through which we have passed will be "a mere meaningless blot on the pages of history."

In the preparation of this book, many have helped me by spoken and written words. To all of these I extend my thanks.

ANNIE MARION MACLEAN.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS.

October 7, 1921.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF
RECONSTRUCTION

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

The purpose of this series is to furnish for busy men and women a brief but essentially sane and sound discussion of present-day questions. The authors have been chosen with care from men who are in first-hand contact with the materials, and who will bring to the reader the newest phases of the subject.

Some Problems of Reconstruction

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A WORLD at war presents problems of vast proportions, but they are solved as they appear because the nations involved are acting under the tremendous spur of necessity and patriotism. In war time, love of country becomes a fetish; everything else is, and must be, of secondary importance. Fighting for a common cause seems to ennoble men. No sacrifice is too great to make when existence may be at stake. The national blood is at fever heat. But with the coming of peace, even a victorious peace, there is a relaxation, a loosening of the tension, that of itself makes the new problems difficult. War weariness has seized the world, and men moan at the thought of further effort, yet they must be prodded on if we are to reap the benefit of the struggle.

The new era is upon us, the new world for which millions of men suffered and died; and new problems have come with it. Things can never be as they were. Human thoughts have undergone change; democracy has taken on new meaning; old solutions are valueless; *reconstruc-*

tion is the watchword; more than that, it is the task. After years of tearing down, rebuilding brings new hope to the nations of the earth. Old material must be employed, but it will find new uses.

It is this making-over process, the readjustment of things to meet new needs, that forms the subject-matter of this book. The term "reconstruction" is adopted because it is the word in common use to denote this task, and everyone understands its content. Reconstruction, then, is the problem of the world, since most of the world was at war, but it is a problem that, for purposes of discussion, must be broken up into many sections.

The various European countries had to face reconstruction first, and had their plans of reorganization well under way before the United States joined the belligerents. This was particularly true of the plans for the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers. It was of the greatest importance that men should be salvaged for further fighting, when fighting men were at a premium. And it seems as if human ingenuity could go no further than it has gone in this rehabilitation work. Bodies seemingly useless have been restored to a maximum of usefulness. Limbs that went for democracy's sake have been replaced by mechanical devices, and the owner is a wage-earner again. Wits to destroy have been checkmated by wits to restore. This is undoubtedly one of the notable contributions of medical science to the

world during the past few years. Belgium was the first country to undertake this particular kind of work. A Belgian nobleman having a large estate in France took into his home wounded soldiers from his own country, and to make them happy, sought to furnish them with congenial tasks. This work grew till it was finally taken over by the Belgian government. Other countries soon saw the need for similar action, and developed methods adapted to their own needs. The reconstruction of devastated areas is a simple task compared with the rehabilitation of mentally or physically broken men. The latter calls for an entirely new kind of engineer. In taking up this particular activity, the United States¹ had the benefit of the experience of other countries, and modeled her plans very closely upon those of Canada, whose problems were almost identical with ours. Canada even lent one of her experts to inaugurate the work here.

But this, after all, is a problem by itself, and the work is of quite limited usefulness inasmuch as it applies to only one set of men, that is wounded soldiers. When they shall have been rendered as fit as possible, the end of it has come.

The one great gain to society that can accrue from such a work of human rehabilitation is its extension to those who are disabled in industry

¹Harris, *Redemption of the Disabled; a Study of Programmes of Rehabilitation for the Disabled of War and of Industry.*

in all lands. The annual human wreckage in industry in the United States alone is greater than the total number of our soldiers disabled by the war. If a new value, through redemptive work for war victims is given to human life, which has always been held cheap in our industrial processes, the war will not have been fought in vain, and soldiers will not have suffered to no purpose. A man broken by industry can be made as useful to society as a soldier broken by war. While making the world safe for those who fought for democracy, we might make it safe for machine tenders who are an indispensable body of men.

But aside from special tasks like the one just discussed, there are so many others of a more general nature demanding attention that men everywhere have had to recognize them, and make provision to meet them. The end of a great war leaves very unstable social and economic conditions, which must be considered with seriousness if we are to emerge without unsightly scars. An understanding of this fact has led practically all the European countries, and some others, to establish commissions¹ to deal with the problems naturally arising.

France was the first to lay plans for general after-the-war work, and this, of course, was be-

¹The following have established commissions: France, Germany, Great Britain, Canada, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Chile, Brazil, and Colombia.

cause of her devastated lands. As early as May 18, 1916, an interministerial committee was created to make plans for restoring the invaded areas. This committee, reorganized several times, has sought to give necessary aid by means of securing legislation and appropriations and making wise suggestions. In her endeavors, France has had financial aid from many persons and agencies, chiefly American, because the pathos of the situation makes a strong appeal to wealthy people of generous impulses. The reconstruction problems of France are, of course, more serious than those of any country except Belgium, since battle fields must be redeemed in addition to the revivifying of economic activity, and the remolding of industrial and social life.

In neutral countries, like Scandinavia, reconstruction work resolves itself into the formation of feasible plans for the resumption of trade interrupted by the years of strife. A serious enough problem, it is true, since foreign trade is the lifeblood of the nations. While neutral countries suffered seriously on the economic side, they lacked the moral stimulus of fighting for a cause. With them reconstruction becomes inevitably more mechanical than with the warring nations. Owing to the exigencies of war, some hard trade restrictions were placed upon them, and much suffering had to be endured. The tragedy of war is that the innocent suffer with the guilty.

On account of her vast resources, splendid war

organization, and lateness in entering the struggle, the United States suffered, in most respects, less than the neutrals, yet she had to undergo the transition from a war to a peace basis which is no simple task, and it has raised questions of tremendous import particularly along industrial lines.

In order to illustrate the magnitude of the work under discussion, Great Britain, whose problems and ideals are in many respects similar to ours, may be taken as an example. On August 21, 1917, the Ministry of Reconstruction was established "to promote organization and development after the termination of the war." The Ministry consists of eighty-seven committees and commissions classified into fifteen groups¹ as follows: (1) Trade Development, (2) Finance, (3) Raw Materials, (4) Coal and Power, (5) Intelligence, (6) Scientific and Industrial Research, (7) Demobilization and Disposal of Stores, (8) Labor and Employment, (9) Agriculture and Forestry, (10) Public Administration, (11) Housing, (12) Education, (13) Aliens, (14) Legal (pre-war contracts, and "period of the war"), (15) Miscellaneous (munitions, land settlement, and civil serial transport).

Even a cursory glance at the foregoing is sufficient to show that practically all the relations of life have been affected by the mighty strug-

¹Friedman, *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, pp. 4-5.

gle through which Great Britain has passed. And this probably means that never again will men be satisfied in the old grooves. New ones must be made, however much some loved the past. Men seem to settle down in the old places after cataclysms in nature, but not after great moral and spiritual upheavals. Italian peasants settle again and again on the sides of Vesuvius and peacefully raise grapes when the monster within has ceased its destructive eruptions, but when a moral issue like the "divine right of kings" has been overturned, men look about for new spiritual moorings. And when the fight for democracy has been won, old autocratic notions will not be tolerated. This is what makes revolutions stimulating to alert thinkers; this is what makes times of intellectual turmoil a joyous opportunity for enthusiasts; and this is what makes reconstruction programs of absorbing interest to the man on the street. All want to know how and when their particular estate will be improved, and a laudable enough desire it is. For what possible justification can there be, they think, for a world war to abolish privilege, unless the world becomes a better place for all sorts and conditions of people to live in, and there is none that civilization can give. The slogan, "Business as usual" did not satisfy; it could not. Life cannot go on the same when other life is being poured out for an ideal, and it should not. No colossal struggle can be successfully treated as an incident in a nation's life.

In the first years of the World War, England tried to ignore post-war problems. They were not to be discussed, but that policy proved a failure, and she commenced to talk about the future and to build for it. This same attitude was observed in Italy, Japan, and other countries, but they all learned that mere denial of a situation does not make it non-existent. The adoption of such a policy in England at the beginning of the war was designed to keep up the morale, and to inspire confidence, but problems were accumulating whether they were recognized or not, and they were problems that would take the best brains of the nation to solve.

It is equally true in this country that mere denial that there are things in need of correction will not cause the disappearance of the undesirable conditions. It is no simple task to shift from war control of industry to normal, even though congressional legislation provided that this should be done expeditiously after the termination of the war.

Reconstruction problems in this country may be divided into two general classes. First, those having to do with war control, whether of food, fuel, or railroads, and export and import trade, or the demobilization of the army and its re-entry into civil life; and second, those larger questions of industrial and social life which have been accentuated by the war.

To the first group belong those problems which are settled by experts with or without

much cooperation on the part of the public. Demobilization, for example, was accomplished swiftly in accordance with well-laid plans, and, little by little, war control has given way. To the second group, on the other hand, belong those problems in which the public is intimately interested, and upon the solution of which rests the new and better era to which all are looking forward. These relate to the extension of opportunity to the common man, and are the subjects to be discussed in this volume. They relate to the new position that ordinary men and women are determined to take as a result of the fight for democracy, and they are as old as modern industry itself. Many are looking for a new heaven and a new earth, or rather a new heaven on a new earth.¹ They want a new society not built on class interests, but reasonably intelligent people know that social changes come gradually, and are willing to grapple with reconstruction problems to that end. As an English writer has said:

The nation's moral awakening has come, now comes the need for the moral life. Yet let us not look for miracles. Whatever the new England becomes, will be the result of long and painful effort, of sacrifice, and renunciation of all kinds, made by men and women of good will; and we shall succeed in proportion as we keep before our eyes ideals that are not so high that they lose themselves in the sky,

¹A consummation seemingly remote at the present time.

aiming at the best practicable for the present, and from that slowly working on to the best conceivable.¹

We in this country need ask for no greater wisdom than this. It is not a working plan that will please radicals, but it must appeal to all serious-minded persons who know anything at all about human psychology, and who are eager for a better world. There is the greatest necessity for a careful study of all the phases of reconstruction, since it is only by scientific study that correct conclusions can be drawn. Men are prone to settle social questions on emotional grounds, when they would never dream of trying to settle astronomical or historical questions in like fashion.

The problems to be studied here are so interwoven with industry, that they might all be regarded as phases of the industrial problem, since it is through industry that men, even those who know nothing of personal toil, live and move and have their being. This is the reason that the labor question looms so large in the reconstruction plans of all countries. And this is the reason that the most careful study should be given to it. Professor Lippincott voices this need when he says:

What is demanded in our reconstruction program is machinery not only for the study of particular industries, and of particular activities, but also of the relations of industries to industries, and social activities of important

¹The Earl of Cromer and Others, *After-War Problems*, p. 14.

kinds to other important social activities. . . . Our goal is the development of the national industrial and social interest.¹

There are few so blind that they do not see portentous changes ahead, and the thinking man must inform himself as to their meaning. The whole social structure of our country was changed when we entered into the great struggle to make men free. The scholar in his study, the workman at his machine, the woman in the home, and our representatives in high places are thinking upon the revaluation of man, and it will take the united efforts of all these to reconstruct our social life.

It is in the hope of helping a little to clarify our thinking along these lines that this brief study is offered. The maintenance of democracy, industrial unrest, the labor of women, the treatment of the Negro, Americanization, housing, education, and the dealing with radicalism are problems which touch the life of the nation, and which concern us all. Many of these problems should have been solved long ago in a free land, but it took a world war to focus national attention on them. We can only hope that from destruction which well-nigh overwhelmed the nations, a better life will arise for the many.

And this must be the outcome, if the war is to be more than "a mere meaningless blot on

¹Lippincott, *Problems of Reconstruction*, p. 303.

the pages of history." Or in the words of an English writer:

If it (the war) is to mean anything at all for future generations, it must be because of what comes out of it, and that depends not upon the soldier, but the statesman.¹

That is upon the successful carrying out of reconstruction plans rests the value of the great struggle. The world not only must be safe for democracy, but democracy must be saved.

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¹Villiers, *Britain After the Peace: Revolution or Reconstruction*, p. 249.

CHAPTER II

PRESERVATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

IT SEEMS platitudinous to say that the democracy for which we fought and came off victorious must be maintained, yet insistence on this point is of vast importance. The child grows only by being nurtured, and when he reaches manhood, he must still be nourished if he is to live. So it is with our social institutions. They must be zealously, even jealously guarded if they are to abide.

It is generally recognized that ideals crystallized into institutions are more readily preserved than those that have not been generally accepted as forms of human conduct. Democracy is as yet hardly more than a catchword with the many. While it is true that for nearly a century and a half, we have had at least a partial political democracy with our republic—partial because of suffrage restrictions upon a large and important class¹—it is equally true that we have hardly experienced as yet either social or industrial democracy. Yet the ideal is with us and must be preserved. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." We are a long distance

¹Suffrage was granted to women in May, 1920.

ahead of the medieval autocracy that ground the common man with iron heel, but we are also a long distance behind the ideal state where every "man is man and master of his fate." Theoretically at least, we scout the idea that nine-tenths of the people come into the world with bridles in their mouths and with saddles on their backs while the other tenth come in booted and spurred to ride them.¹ In actual practice in some quarters, however, it would seem that such a belief still holds. On this account, we see the wisdom of insisting upon the preservation of our ideals.

A representative form of government is not enough to insure a happy life to all if industrial relations are left unregulated. A man theoretically free may be enslaved by the conditions under which he lives and works. Men are not pawns to be moved over the board by powerful hands. Each man should claim the right to work out his destiny. Men stood together to save the world from rapacious greed and brutalized power, and they stood shoulder to shoulder. Artificial distinctions had no place in a twentieth-century army mobilized in a democracy, and they should have no place in civil life. There always will be distinctions among men. It is only a visionary who can see with pleasure a state made up of men run in a mold. Differences in type lend a zest to society that otherwise would be deadly monotonous. Men are not alike physi-

¹Thayer, *Democracy: Discipline: Peace*, p. 7.

cally or mentally; we do not want them to be. They are not born equal now, nor is it likely they ever will be. The function of democracy is not to try to eradicate such fundamental differences; it is rather to abolish resulting handicaps, and to extend equal opportunity to all. That is the task. Each man born into the world should have a chance to develop himself, and enjoy a happy life, so long as his conception of happiness does not work hardship to others or conflict with the generally accepted standards of the community. The degenerate finds happiness in drunkenness, but, since, in this state, he may be a social menace, he must be checked. Such divergence of standards of what constitutes a happy life complicates the problem.

"The world must be made safe for democracy" has been ringing in our ears, and one often wonders how much it means to the many who say it and the many who hear it, because of our varying interpretations of the word "democracy." To some it means no "Jim Crow" cars for anyone; to others a Packard for everybody; to some free lunches; to others an invitation to the President's receptions; to some it means a loafer's paradise; to others a chance to work in contentment. There seems to be no unanimity of opinion in regard to the elements constituting that happy state known as "democracy;" yet there is general agreement that such a state, whatever it means, is desirable, and it was worth fighting for.

Since, therefore, the word is nothing without its content, it becomes our task to read into the word a meaning that will find general acceptance, and then urge upon all the preservation of the ideal as a sacred trust.

It requires no special penetration to see that unrest is about us on all sides. Dissatisfaction is rampant. No one feels settled. Everyone was looking for a better world to live in, and the expected change has not come. Unless it does come, we are likely to settle down into what Kingsley called "dull discontent too stale for words."

With much emphasis on the freedom of oppressed peoples, and the establishment of liberty in the world, as a justification of the war, it was inevitable that there should be much heart-searching among men in regard to their own status. If freedom and self-determination are a desideratum for men who have suffered under oppressive forms of government, why is not a fuller participation in all that liberty implies good for all men? A people theoretically free may be virtually enslaved, as millions of Americans are discovering for the first time, and the discovery is making them restless. Work alone, even with high wages, does not satisfy the men and women who are questioning. They want to share more largely in something — they hardly know what — that gives an added significance to life.

Those who are in control must heed even the halting expression of discontent, if revolution in

the future is to be averted. It is not sufficient to answer that we have the greatest democracy on earth, and it is an ingrate who is not satisfied. Empty forms can never satisfy people who have once begun to think. And the statement that the average American has commenced to think about his station in life is not open to question. No more will he accept the doctrine that the Giver of All Good elected the majority to be hewers of wood and drawers of water throughout time for the benefit of heaven's pets. And the democratic ideal furnishes the background for his heresy.

The machinery for helping men to happiness is at hand, and the nation would be stupid indeed not to use it. It is idle to say that discontent with the expression of democracy we have is due wholly to the war. It is not. The war, however, has served to emphasize anew our limitations, and to point out the necessity for building to meet the needs of the new era which is upon us. Even before the war was thought possible, Woodrow Wilson said:

We are facing the necessity of fitting a new social organization, as we did once fit the old organization, to the happiness and prosperity of the great body of citizens; for we are conscious that the new order of society has not been made to fit and provide the convenience and prosperity of the average man.¹

The average man, the common man, the man on the street has made himself heard at last,

¹Wilson, *The New Freedom*, p. 4.

and he it is who will save democracy to the nation by making it fulfil its function.

Social unrest is not new in the world, but it is more widespread than ever before. The hitherto unheeded millions are asserting their right to greater participation in this good thing called democracy, which, though unformulated, means to them something more than power to cast a vote. Special privilege can thrive with universal suffrage. Men are seeking an entrance into that larger democracy which is industrial and social as well as political. It is, therefore, of the gravest importance that the democracy in which they trust shall not fail them. There can be no more important phase of reconstructive effort than that which seeks to preserve a national ideal.

It becomes our first task then to put into words a general conception of what is implied in the institution known as democracy, and which we insist must be maintained if all other reconstructive effort is to be of any avail.

As a starting-point in our quest for true democracy, we may well adopt Professor Tufts' definition that,

The finest and largest meaning of democracy is that all people should share as largely as possible in the best life.¹

Of course the standard of the best life will vary somewhat from generation to generation, but the ideal that all the people should share it would

¹Tufts, *Our Democracy*, p. 268.

remain the same. Professor Tufts points out that society for a long period of time acted on the assumption that only a favored few were entitled to the good things of life, and that this aristocratic view gives way slowly to the democratic belief that all should share in them. Much of the unrest of the present is due to the persistence of the aristocratic view. Those who enjoy special privileges relinquish them slowly. The doctrine of the divine right to hold what we have, and to have what we hold, dies hard. An upper class can easily justify to itself its elevation, and believe it to be meritorious. Those who are discriminated against have another perspective, and when aroused, resent the idea of an inherent inequality. History furnishes many illustrations of this throughout the centuries that have gone. Peasants' revolts, a French revolution, Chartists' riots, are merely names for past popular upheavals, which show the reaching out after liberty in different ages, and the slow groping after the democratic ideal.

In modern times, the industrial revolution has been instrumental in accentuating distinctions between classes. The necessity for capital to purchase machines led to the growth of an employing class of machine owners, and a non-owning working class of machine tenders. But at the same time, this very condition, by emphasizing class differences, led to much sane reflection upon the inherent rights of men, and tended to the development of the democratic principle

which we are seeking to understand and to maintain.

One of the most brilliant and satisfying of the recent attempts to find the content of the term "democracy" is that of Dr. Albion W. Small of the University of Chicago, in an article on "Some Structural Material for the Idea, Democracy."¹ He sees in the "self-realization of persons . . . the measure of value for all human programs." This clearly should be the underlying purpose in all reconstruction work. Again, he holds that,

. . . there is no social guaranty worth trusting in a society which is not convinced that the measure of meanness or of merit in men's actions is what they import for human beings.²

Still further he makes explicit his understanding of the purpose of life when he insists that,

The first task of civilization is to secure food enough to sustain life. The next task is to make life worthy enough to be worth sustaining.³

The second is pre-eminently the task of reconstruction, and in this our democracy will not fail.

Since we accept participation in the best life, or the insuring of a worthy life to all as the prime desideratum in a democracy, it only remains for us to establish some standard of what constitutes

¹Small, *The American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1919, and January, 1920.

²*Ibid.*, November, 1919, pp. 270-271.

³*Ibid.*, November, 1919, p. 270.

the best life. Then we shall have certain definite things to insist upon and to perpetuate. And here we can do no better than still to follow the lead of Dr. Small who many years ago formulated a standard¹ of a normal life to be secured by the gratification of certain desires growing out of the wants of the average man. This is a sixfold classification of human desires, and it seems to be sufficiently comprehensive to include everything that is necessary to the establishment of the best life. It is the gratification of these desires in reasonable degree, that will give us men capable of functioning in a real democracy. The classification is as follows:

1. *The gratification of desires connected with health.*—Every normal human being desires to be physically fit, and he must have a measure of health if he is to do his share of the world's work with comfort and satisfaction. A physically broken man cannot be an efficient producer, and he is on this account a loss to society. Social obstacles to health should therefore be removed. Unwholesome living conditions prevail even in our most enlightened states. Many children are doomed before birth to disease that should not be permitted to exist, and many young people have to grow up under conditions which sap their strength. There is no unreason in asking that these conditions be changed. The desire for

¹Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 175. Small, *General Sociology*, chap. xxxii.

a good body is a perfectly normal one and should be gratified. Good health makes for the best life.

2. *The gratification of desires connected with economic needs or the accumulation of wealth.*—Every human being needs a chance to make a decent living. This does not mean that society owes him a fortune; it does mean that a man is only half a man who has no money to buy bread. To eat from a pauper's table, or to jog along from door to door in quest of food and clothes, is spiritually shriveling and should not be the lot of any citizen in a democracy. An opportunity to be economically able to satisfy the elemental needs of life is surely a right among free people. There are likely to be differences of opinion in regard to the best methods of securing this freedom, but there should be unanimity in regard to its desirability.

3. *The gratification of desires connected with the social instincts.*—Normal men want the stimulus of association with their kind, and it is necessary to their development. Without opportunity for legitimate exercise this desire may readily become anti-social. The hermit is an abnormality, fortunately rare. Less rare, but equally to be deplored, is the one whose only social pleasure is found in bestial haunts with others like himself. Between these two extremes, we find a rational craving for the spiritual joys of friendship, and that society is doomed to decay which does not recognize the legitimacy of this, and make wise provision for its satisfaction.

4. *The gratification of wants, emanating from the desire to know, which exists in the breast of every normal man.*—It is true that this is found in varying degrees of strength in different people, and manifests itself in varying forms. A man must *know* if he would *do*. The knowledge desire is a much larger thing than schools alone can satisfy, yet formal education is a means to that end. Knowledge truly is power, and man must have opportunity to acquire the phase of it that will unfold the world for him, if he is to enter into the satisfactions of democracy.

5. *The gratification of wants connected with the desire for the aesthetic.*—Normal people crave the beautiful in their lives. The fact that many conceptions of beauty are crude and barbaric, does not negate their existence. Music, art, literature, make their appeal in varying ways, and their leavening influence is needed if man is to rise to his full height in a democracy. The desire for beauty in life is omnipresent, as pitiful attempts at personal adornment, and pathetic efforts to participate in the arts, testify. Taste is a matter of cultivation; love of the beautiful is innate.

6. *The gratification of wants connected with the desire for rightness.*—The normal man recognizes obligation and has a sense of duty. He desires to get in touch with forces outside of self, and he seeks a guiding principle in his life. This is quite apart from adherence to religious dogma. It is a desire found in the savage and in the saint;

and society must recognize its normality. Like all the other wants of man, this varies with the individual, but it is found in everyone.

If we would preserve our democracy then, we must see to it that life is made worth while for all the people instead of the favored few. This is the only kind of democracy that is worth preserving, the only kind that should triumph in the world. The extension of opportunity to all the people to enjoy the satisfactions enumerated above is possible in any society, and should certainly be attainable in a land where freedom is the watchword. Democracy with all its failures is the ideal of the twentieth century, and the preservation of all its forms—political, social, industrial—should be the first charge upon reconstruction. Complete democratization would render unnecessary all other reconstructive work. The preservation of the democratic ideal will do much toward rendering such work effective. The torch held on high will light the dark way.

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CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

WITHOUT doubt, the most difficult problem awaiting solution in the world today is the adjustment of the differences existing between capital and labor. That differences do exist is apparent to everyone. On all sides one hears mutterings of a discontent that has assumed world proportions. It is no local or temporary condition; all the nations are facing it. This indeed is the problem of reconstruction *par excellence*, and is recognized as such by all the countries which are trying to restore normal life to their populations. The industrial army which performed such valiant service behind the lines in war time is determined to share in the better life that peace promised. The adjustment of the fighting armies to the demands of civil life is simple when compared with the effort to bring about industrial peace. Industrial difficulties are old; they are merely accentuated now. They have been accumulating with the years, and have only recently assumed serious proportions. A condition may justly be called serious when millions of men laboring with set faces are ready to fight for what they consider their rights. It is only

hopeless, however, when unreason prevails, and this is quite as likely to be on the side of capital as of labor. Neither side has a monopoly on reason. In the struggle, labor is heavily handicapped by poverty and ignorance as well as by indifferent leadership. It is thus a poor match for the wealth, intelligence, and expert leaders of the employing class.¹ This fact creates additional bitterness among employees, because it is a situation that does not spell equality of opportunity.

It should be borne in mind that the returned soldiers are not directly responsible for the labor situation at the present time, although their sudden return to industry must be considered. In this country alone 4,000,000 young men were taken out of industry to form an army, and their places had to be filled by men who were left behind, and by women. A labor demand in excess of the supply was thereby created, and owing to the necessity of speeding up in the production of war supplies, unusually high wages were offered in the war industries. This in turn attracted workers from other fields, such as household and farm labor, where the shortage, particularly in the former, is still keenly felt. Even demobilization did not restore the balance.

What is true in this respect in the United States is doubly true in Europe where many more

¹A notable example of this is to be seen in the unsuccessful steel strike of the autumn of 1919.

men for a much longer period of time were withdrawn from industry.

With the passing of the old personal relations between workers and their employers which existed before the days of great machines, came the beginning of that class hostility which is so marked today. The production of material things has gone on so rapidly that employers have apparently not had time to consider the human element in this production. They have been interested only in output. But this, we now know, is a shortsighted policy, since the highest point in output cannot be maintained without the cooperation of the workers. They may be driven to the machines by fear of starvation, but no managerial mandate can compel the maximum of exertion.

As the working people rise in the scale of intelligence, they become more insistent on a share in the determination of the conditions under which they work. This is the price of enlightenment, but believers in democracy should find no price too high to pay for raising the general level of intelligence. Before there was a world war, free labor was thinking its own thoughts. That millions of men in any country should be forever willing to fetch and carry at the behest of others indicates a state of mental stagnation that must surely make for national decay sooner or later. If a voice in the control of government is worth fighting for, why not a voice in the control of work, which touches the average man much more

closely? Such thoughts were agitating the laborers in Europe before the summer of 1914, but like other loyal men they put them aside for the period of the war and devoted themselves exclusively to the pursuit of victory.

In America a similar state of affairs existed. The remarkable industrial development since the Civil War was made possible by an abundance of raw materials, an oversupply of cheap labor from Europe, and a genius for business enterprise in the native blood. Some of the world's greatest fortunes were amassed here during this period, and serious-minded workingmen have tried to discover any good reason why the men who furnished the capital should get so much, while the men who performed the labor got so little.

They had not found a reason satisfactory to themselves when the war broke out, and they were called to the colors for either military or industrial service. Their vigorous response not only added greatly to the dignity of their labor, but it also roused many thinking people, including some employers, to a belief in the justice of at least some of their contentions. One does not need to be a propagandist for any "ism" to admit that the hardships of industry have fallen with undue severity upon those who are least able to make their own terms with the world, that is, upon the ignorant, the young, and the weak. It took a world war to make these classes articulate—and articulate because the ever-present

fear of losing a job had vanished in a day with the surplus of unemployed. It was formerly thought that our modern system of industry would not be workable without a margin of unemployed.

A sense of security in one's position makes for independence in some, while in others it makes for tyranny. In any case, the cringing attitude of the whipped cur is no longer observable in labor. This is disconcerting to masterful spirits who in the past have enjoyed much distinction from their power over their fellow-men, due to the ease with which they could replace discharged workmen. Now the laborer is taking a turn at dictating terms, and he is not showing any better spirit than the former dictator. Being in the saddle gives a man great assurance, but it does not enable him to win the race over a powerful automobile, although he can win over those on foot. It is on this account that the small employer is at a disadvantage in dealing with labor when compared with the great corporation. Thus is added another element to the general unrest. It seems as if the whole world had slipped from its moorings, but if it gets better dockage at new ports, the universe will be the gainer. And to secure better dockage is the business of reconstruction.

The labor situation in England¹ throws much light on the problem in general, and English

¹Bloomfield, *Management and Men*. (Contains valuable information on English undertakings.)

experience should be of great value to us in reconstruction plans.

Everyone knows about the famous "three years' truce" which organized labor made with the government, permitting the waiving of certain Trade Union regulations for that period in order to aid in the prosecution of the war. The unions which have had great power in England for years, agreed to the "dilution of labor" or the use of a certain percentage of unskilled labor under the direction of skilled. They also agreed not to limit output, which had been the curse of English industry for a generation. When employers were thus freed from former tyrannous restrictions, and permitted to operate their plants twenty-four hours a day, the country entered upon an era of unprecedented production, while the workers received higher wages than ever before. Everyone worked at top speed, and labor leaders were high in the councils of the nation. Patriotism was the lubricant that made the wheels go round. But when the war ended, and the question of the restoration of pre-war Trade Union restrictions on industry came up, dissatisfaction was felt on all sides. Everyone knew this would be so. An astute observer and friend of labor like Mr. Sidney Webb¹ never believed that it would be possible to return to the old ways in spite of government promises. It seemed extremely doubtful that employers,

¹Webb, *The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions*.

having reached a state of industrial efficiency hitherto undreamed of, would consider for one moment a return to the old methods; nor would the rank and file of unskilled labor be willing to relinquish its grip on high wages. A compromise then seemed to be the only solution; but to arrive at this compromise is quite another question. Plans by the hundred have been proposed, for the idealist is always ready to build a Utopia.

The English Minister of Reconstruction outlined four necessary changes¹ if the results of the war were to be overcome. These are: (1) better cooperation between capital and labor, (2) better conditions of life, (3) better training, and (4) better industrial methods. Obviously, reforms as far-reaching as these cannot be effected in a day, nor by the genius of any one man. It is therefore to be expected that many different groups should be ready with proposals along economic, political, or sociological lines, and varying from conservative to extremely radical. But there seems to be a general feeling, regardless of the shade of belief, that industrial unrest can be eliminated only by some extension of control to the industrial workers. The best known of these plans are found in the *Whitley Reports*² in which is advocated the establishment of joint, standing

¹Friedman, *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, p. 23.

²Reprints of the Reports of the Whitley Committee may be obtained from the Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Ave., New York.

industrial councils and shop committees for all industries. Mr. J. H. Whitley is chairman of the Reconstruction Ministry's subcommittee on the relation between employer and employed.

What the Magna Carta signifies in the history of political democracy, the *Whitley Reports* may come to mean in the future industrial democracy.¹

Industrial councils are designed to standardize the relations between employers and employed, and to give workmen a dignity in industry such as they have never before enjoyed. Neither the right to strike nor to lockout is interfered with, but the machinery to prevent such wasteful stoppage of work is provided.

England realizes as never before the necessity for utilizing the knowledge and experience of her workingmen, and for this end to establish some form of real partnership in production. Her experience should be of great value to the United States where unrest is quite as disturbing, although conditions of production are not so chaotic, and limitation of output by union regulation not such a bugbear to capital.

The war taught England the national importance of the laboring classes. Without the wholehearted cooperation of labor, the war would not have been won. Labor knows this, but is hardly strong enough to make its demands felt even with such an advantage.

In discussing the labor situation, it is well to

¹Friedman, *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, p. 141.

bear in mind that unrest is a symptom, not a disease, and the causes of the trouble should be sought. These are somewhat vague in the minds of most people, but it seems clear that they have to do chiefly with some voice in control or ownership of the means of production. And we may as well recognize the fact that general industrial unrest will not disappear until the causes are removed. Men ask for higher wages and shorter hours, and when these demands are granted, peacefully or after a fight, they are still discontented, and ask for still further wage increases and still shorter hours, when what they really want is not specific dollars or hours but power to determine fair conditions for themselves, and, moreover, they are going to have this power sooner or later. A reconstructed America will have to give it to them. It is not thinkable that millions of dissatisfied men, yearly increasing in intelligence, will much longer continue to accept scraps from the master's table.

The present strike-and-win or the strike-and-lose method throws the burden of increased wages on the public instead of on the profits of business where it belongs. It is only by increased production that capital, without eating its own head off, can take care of wage demands. Without this, employers have recourse to price-raising which affects all consumers including the workmen who started the ball rolling. And so the vicious circle of high prices is completed. But this needs no exposition, since it is familiar

to every thinking person in the country who sees his dollar shrinking almost daily.

It is possible of course to write down the conspicuous grievances of labor, and indicate the weapons it uses in its effort to correct abuses. Then it is our task to see wherein the public can help. We have in this country, no reconstruction ministry, but efforts of various kinds are being made to solve the problems.

Many say that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally the same, but it is doubtful if this is true. They may even be diametrically opposed, yet they may be made to approach each other, by the exercise of wisdom on both sides. The laborer wants to get as much as he can for the least expenditure of effort, while the capitalist wants to get the most labor for the least expenditure of wages commensurate with profitable service. Of course when there is a scarcity of labor it is an economic folly to wear out a man, but when there is a surplus, this need not concern the employer *as an employer*, though it should concern him greatly as a man. A surplus of 5,000 waiting at the Stockyards gates in Chicago made the workers lose their strike of 1904.¹

Through Trade Unions, the workmen have been trying for more than a generation to equalize their disabilities, and some of the bitterest

¹Parker, "The Labor Policy of the American Trusts," *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1920, p. 225.

fight between labor and capital have been occasioned by their insistence on recognition of the union. Most employers are at heart more or less hostile to Trade Unions; probably all would be glad to be free from them; yet some have accepted them graciously enough, and work harmoniously with them. Employers object not so much to the workmen's right to organize as to the methods they have adopted. But labor has only taken a leaf from the books of Big Business. No just person should question labor's right to organize for self-protection and self-determination while capital has that privilege. Yet everyone must deplore the lust for power that is evidenced on both sides. The great corporations are able to checkmate the unions, and, as has been said before in this chapter, this is a cause of widespread unrest. It is an important cause of recent bitter struggles in certain basic industries of the country in which the workmen have failed.

The Trade Union may not be the highest form of labor organization, but it has thus far been the most effective. It has been able to secure greatly improved conditions for its members, and incidentally, for all labor. Shorter hours, higher wages, and better sanitation have followed union agitation. Collective bargaining has put the worker on a more independent footing. The individual cannot make very good terms for himself even when there is a scarcity of labor. He has no effective argument. The union has the

strike with which to enforce its demands. It is most unfortunate that the strike has to be resorted to, since misery and disaster frequently follow in its trail; yet, as is the case with nations, war seems at times to be inevitable. By this method, organized labor has secured for itself quite generally an eight-hour day either in fact or as a basic day upon which to reckon payment for overtime. But now that the eight-hour day has been achieved in well-unionized trades, we hear echoes of a call for six hours, and the more daring spirits whisper four. At least one successful British manufacturer, Lord Leverhulme, has established a six-hour day, and believes that,

. . . . it is already applicable without loss to all those industries in which the cost of production in overhead charges is equal in amount to the cost of wages. But in most workshops and factories, the cost of production in the form of overhead charges is double or more the cost of wages. In all these latter, the six-hour day can be applied forthwith with enormous gains in cost of production, provided the supply of raw material and of labor is available, and the demand for products exists.¹

This plan, it may be said, presupposes at least two shifts of workers per day. That is, machinery works longer hours and human beings fewer.

The desire for more leisure is quite general among the workers. Only recently our own miners asked for a thirty-hour week. If, by means of a shorter day, production can be increased,

¹Leverhulme, *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, p. 19.

or at least the present rate maintained, then the shorter day should be welcomed as an economic good. If, in addition to this, it gives us a healthier and happier body of workers, it should be hailed as an inestimable social gain. Lord Leverhulme's enthusiasm for the six-hour day, however, has not yet proved contagious. And it may well be questioned if a shorter day, even when coupled with high wages, would prove a solvent for the present industrial unrest. The past does not furnish proof that it ever has done so. In the passing of a century, the work day has shrunk from sixteen to fourteen, to twelve, to ten, to eight hours¹ with a steadily accumulating discontent; but this cannot be considered entirely deplorable. A stupid content would give us no progress. A wholesome dissatisfaction with unfavorable conditions of life has brought the world to its present state of development.

The problem of reconstruction, then, is not so much to attempt to eliminate unrest directly as to endeavor to make the best things in life more possible of attainment by the wage-earners who are first of all men with the instincts² of men. As machine operatives, they have lost the pleasure of accomplishment without which work becomes drudgery. An industrial system which

¹In government positions, in many business houses, in strongly organized trades, and, at present, in much casual work.

²Tead, *Instincts in Industry*.

requires nine men to make a needle, and eighty men to make a pair of shoes, gives meager opportunity for individual skill to assert itself. Shorter hours and higher wages alone cannot recompense the worker who has, consciously or unconsciously, sacrificed his creative impulses in order to live.¹ The more intelligent will still crave self-expression. And it is just here that a reconstruction program may be turned to practical value by proposing a feasible plan whereby the workers themselves shall have some voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work. Representation of some kind must be accorded them if the revolutionary aspects of unrest are to be eliminated.

Many plans have already been evolved for democratic control. One illustration may be given here as an indication of the possibilities open to employers. An old and honored firm in Cincinnati, after thirty years' experience with profit-sharing, and two with shop committees, has received into its directorate three factory employees, elected by their fellow-workers. The total number of directors is twelve. Democratic representation² will doubtless do much to create contentment among workmen, when added to all the other desirable conditions for which they have been striving.

¹Marot, *The Creative Impulse in Industry*. (Contains an excellent discussion of this subject.)

²Bloomfield, *Shop Management*. (Contains detailed discussion of numerous experiments.)

The restoration of personal relations between employer and employee to take the place of mechanical contact would do much to stem the tide of unrest. Industrial workers, skilled or unskilled, permanent or casual, are human beings with the same hopes and ambitions as those in more favored social circles. They want to be treated as responsible men, and, according to some, industrial partnership¹ will gratify this desire, while others have more elaborate proposals.

So many elements enter into the solution of the industrial problem that it is instructive to get the viewpoint² of a manual laborer who is also a man of education. He says: "There is first of all, a very pressing need for more honesty, charity, and reverence in the world today than ever before," and, "There can be no social life worthy the name without mutual trust, and no mutual trust without mutual honesty." Again he says: "In reality, all labor, whether of head or hand, is simply a service, and it is a dishonest service if you exact more than you give, whether in service returned or money paid." He sums up his beliefs with: "Teach all men to serve rightly real art, real literature, real science, real labor, and share all these with them, and you need not fear they will tear your tapestries, loot your libraries,

¹Booker, "Industrial Partnership," *Yale Review*, January, 1920.

²Wight, "The Human Factor," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1920, p. 26.

or fling sand into the wheels of your machinery, industrial or social, much less, crush human life."

Each country is seeking its own solution of its labor problem. In England, the Labor Party in Parliament seems to offer the best method of removing the causes of unrest; in Russia, the Soviet is regarded as the ideal scheme; while in the United States we must look to a satisfactory plan yet to be devised whether in accordance with the suggestions of ex-President Wilson's Industrial Conference,¹ or some others, remains to be seen. The final offering of the ex-President's Conference is twofold according to Mr. William L. Chenery.

In the first place, a singularly ingenious system of collective bargaining and of voluntary arbitration is suggested. In the second place, a helpful statement of industrial principles is made.²

The effort to solve the industrial problem is one that merits the cooperation of all classes of people—the workers themselves, the capitalists, and the public. Reconstruction has no greater task. If discussion can awaken interest that will lead to action, it is not in vain. The New World has the opportunity to lead in industrial reform. If it does not achieve leadership, it can at least follow the best that other countries have to offer.

¹A full report of the Conference which convened January 12, 1920, may be found in a supplement to the *Survey* of March 27, 1920, p. 819.

²Chenery, "A Constitution for Industry: The President's Conference Reports," *The Survey*, March 27, 1920, p. 805.

But while urging action, we must heed the wisdom of a life-long student of labor problems when he says:

The solution lies not in abolishing discontent, but in directing it into a hopeful channel, and above all, and chief of all, in recognizing that the solution is to be found not so much in conditions outside of ourselves as in a stirring of qualities of mind and character within ourselves.¹

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CHAPTER IV

WOMAN'S LABOR

IT MIGHT seem at first glance that the question of woman's labor could well be discussed under the more general heading of industrial unrest, and that the difficulties and needs of wage-earners, wherever found, would be the same irrespective of sex. In a way this is true; yet in other ways, the problem of woman's labor, both here and in other English-speaking countries, is quite distinct, and merits separate treatment. The reasons for this latter view are not hard to discover. In the first place, although women as a class have for generations been wage-earners, women as individuals are transients in industry, and give to their employment a lack of permanence that discourages the inclusion of their needs in the general labor programs of men, except in a more or less philanthropic sense. This, at least, was the pre-war situation. An overwhelming majority of the girls who enter industry at fourteen or sixteen years of age or thereabouts, leave it in about five years to marry. That is, the apprenticeship that might be expected to give proficiency is practically wasted, since the work is regarded as

a temporary makeshift anyway, while the real occupation of life comes with marriage. The fact that great numbers of married women re-enter industry is lost sight of by young girls looking forward to the supposed leisure of domestic life. Yet the census of 1910 showed that one in every four of our wage-earning women was married. Such a mental attitude as this situation seems to indicate, does not make for the class consciousness that develops efficiency and brings improved conditions.

I have said that the foregoing is true in the English-speaking countries, because a somewhat different order prevails in the continental countries, although their need for consideration is equally great. There the factory system has not developed in just the same way that it has in England and America since the great inventions of the eighteenth century.

In the second place, we consider woman's labor as a question apart because an overwhelming majority of women workers are young, and the preservation of their health becomes a matter of national importance second to no other. No nation can afford to jeopardize its future mothers and home-makers, although every nation has indulged more or less in this form of extravagance at one time or another. Such reasons alone are sufficient to warrant separate discussion of woman's labor in any plans for reconstruction.

We may add to these reasons the present general interest attaching to the subject of woman's

labor, owing to the distress caused by a shortage of women workers in many quarters, such as kitchens; and also the very recent enfranchisement of women in many lands. It is estimated that there are at present 100,000,000 women voters in the world. Women have thus, as never before, a voice in determining their own social and industrial status, and reconstructionists must take cognizance of this. Women workers with voting power need no longer be wards of kind-hearted statesmen, though kind-hearted statesmen will still have a function to perform in sponsoring legislative reforms demanded by women voters, until there are enough women legislators to sponsor their own reforms.

This chapter is not presented as an erudite study of the perplexing problem of woman's labor with its ramifications into the home and into society at large. It is rather a statement of some salient facts concerning woman's work which should be recognized in any plans for reconstruction that may be made by the government or private organizations. A wide knowledge of the conditions of life is essential to social solidarity, without which there can be no strong and effective democracy.

Before the outbreak of the war, there were in the United States nearly 72,000,000 people gainfully employed. Of these more than 8,000,000 were women and girls, and this does not include the great host working as housekeepers for their husbands and children, but receiving no definite

wages. These numbers have been greatly augmented of late. Since the beginning of the war, the employed woman has been with us on every side. She has formed a very important element in the "man power" of the United States. While the war was in progress, women of the so-called leisure class in all lands responded heroically to the call of country, and went out into whatever fields needed their services. Much of this labor was unpaid, or practically unpaid, since it had to do with various undertakings of mushroom growth carrying on activities induced by the war. This labor, like knitting, was ephemeral, and, also like knitting, of great subjective value, since it gave to the non-workers some appreciation of what it means to leave home early and stay away all day, and, in the main, perform tasks that someone else had planned. The lash of economic necessity was never upon these women; they do not know what it means to work for their daily bread; but they would be dull indeed if the experience did not help them to interpret to themselves and others the needs of self-supporting women.

Life furnishes ample illustration that common experiences lead to community of interest. How eagerly housekeepers, behind closed doors, denounce their maid-servants, and with what avidity maid-servants denounce their mistresses when opportunity arises! To enter into the lives and tasks of others, even temporarily, should, and usu-

ally does, widen the outlook of the participant. If the volunteer work of women has no more permanent result than this, it will not have been in vain. Aside from this, of course, it was a valuable contribution to the country's need.

The women who went out for hire to fill the breach in labor were not less patriotic than their sisters to whom money mattered not, and it is their problems that are most significant, and it is their interests that must be safeguarded in these days of readjustment. Many women who became wage-earners for the first time during the war, are remaining in industry either from necessity or because economic independence is pleasant to them. The present high rate of wages leads numbers of married women to work all or part time, for, even though the husband is well paid, living expenses are so heavy that any addition to the family income is welcome. Among those struggling for a bare existence, the wife must work. Many are questioning the social results of the general employment of women, and view with some alarm its effects on marriage and on family life. The questioning and the alarm, of course, are futile, since women are not going to be talked back into their homes. A reasonable view of the situation is taken by Professor Arthur J. Todd, who says:

Does the pressure for better income mean the permanent retention of women in industry? And how will women's entrance into industry affect family life? Will it "penalize

marriage?" It will certainly penalize marriage as a trade, but it need not destroy marriage and family life in their best sense.¹

Adjustment in the trades in which women were employed during the war was much more of a problem in England than in this country owing to the vastly greater number, about a million and a half, called to take men's places, and the necessity of formulating plans in accordance with the restoration of Trade Union conditions as agreed upon by parliament in the famous truce with labor. To get women in proved simpler than to get them out. Patriotism coupled with necessity swept them into new occupations; self-interest keeps them there. It is of the greatest importance to society that women who entered the skilled trades, when the men formerly employed were serving the colors, should not keep their places by means of unfair wage competition with men, and that organized men should not close the door to women's appeal.

Mr. Friedman² cites the case of reconstruction plans for women in the engineering trades as typical. There the recommendation is that, men unionists cooperate with women rather than compete with them, that unionists should not attempt to oust women from the trade, but rather aid in organizing them, so as to take out of the employers' hands a whip over organized labor.

Where men had won for themselves, before the

¹Schafer and Cleveland (Editors), *Democracy in Reconstruction*, chap. v, p. 104.

²Friedman, *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, p. 116.

war, advantages of hours and wages, it was only natural that they should resent the loss of these through the advent of women. It was wisdom, therefore, to seek to bring women into the fold of unionism on the same plane with themselves.

In England the plan known as the "dilution of labor" permitted the use of women in trades hitherto closed to them by strong unions of men. Women thus had an opportunity to become skilled workers, and when the "three years' truce" was over, they naturally enough did not wish to give up their work. Some plan of adjustment had to be evolved, and there was a ministry of reconstruction to evolve it. It is estimated that over 1,750,000 English women worked in munitions, a term covering all government manufacture of things essential to the carrying on of war, and it is said that 300,000 of these came from domestic pursuits, and from small shops. In France 450,000 women who had never before been in the factories went into the making of deadly shells. They were mostly housewives or workers on delicate fabrics. Figures are not available for the number of munition workers in this country, but we know it was several hundred thousand, and that the work caused the first great exodus from domestic service. In all three countries it was women's first opportunity to harvest high wages, and they made the most of it. In England and France, grim sorrow pushed them on to tremendous output, and the money return was staggering to them.

In the United States, the first entrance of women into munition plants was before our participation in the war, and had only commercial aspects. Girls rushed to Bridgeport, Connecticut,¹ for example, with a zeal that well-nigh overwhelmed the town. Domestics and clerks and girls from the country districts left everything in a frantic rush to get employment where wages were high, although no adequate preparation had been made to receive them. The resulting housing situation was deplorable. New-found liberty sought to express itself, and in ways not always beneficial to the community. The story of Bridgeport's response to the new social burdens thus thrust upon her is a long one, but the town finally measured up to the standards of good citizenship in this respect.

Women had worked in munitions prior to 1914, but their labor was inconspicuous. It was not until a new market was opened up by the European contestants that there was great demand for their services. After the United States entered the war, and young men were called to the army, a pressing patriotism, as well as financial inducements, drew more and more women into munitions and other government employment, thus creating a shortage in some of the old-time occupations of women. Household service still suffers from this scarcity of labor and the era of reconstruction is not yet at hand. It is true that probably not more

¹Hewes and Walter, *Munition Makers*.

than 20 per cent of the families in this country employ domestic helpers, but this important fifth had become so dependent on the manner of living to which it was habituated that acute distress is felt from the necessity for readjustment. In England, too, cooks and housemaids walked out at the country's call to the number of 100,000,¹ but now that peace has come they have not walked back. Unquestionably unfavorable conditions in the households in the past have had much to do with this situation both here and abroad. People are now paying the penalty of extravagantly high wages and indifferent service. It is becoming more and more difficult to maintain homes, and families are crowding into hotels. Distracted housewives offer hitherto undreamed-of inducements, but even these frequently fail to secure desired help. Wages have doubled in three years; hours have been shortened; tasks have been lightened; living quarters have been made pleasanter; yet there are no girls in sight.

In the whole field of reconstructive effort, there is no more fertile soil than this. Age-old customs of home-making have disappeared, and people are astonishingly receptive to the new. The complexities of modern life make it impossible for the well-to-do woman to do all her own housework, and it is questionable if the best interests of society would be served by her attempting

¹Bloomfield, *Management and Men*, p. 26.

it. Relief lies along the way of cooperation and the abandonment of foolish display.

Community kitchens delivering hot dinners in thermos containers have already demonstrated their usefulness and practicability in many places. Evanston, Illinois, a beautiful suburb of Chicago, has a very successful one started several years ago under the auspices of the Woman's Club. It sends out about 150 dinners each night at \$1.10 a plate and \$1.25 for Sundays and holidays. A delivery charge is added to these prices. This service is designed for families unable to obtain help; the price makes it prohibitive to the poorer people. Yet the plan might well be adapted to the needs of wage-earners' families. The idea was developed in England¹ under the Ministry of Food for workers during the war, and was quickly expanded to meet the needs of other classes. The wholesale desertion of an occupation may eventually lead to standardized home service, and a simpler form of family life. Flunkys are out of place in a democracy. Every citizen in a free land should graciously perform personal services for himself, and allow others to go unchallenged into productive forms of labor. Real reconstruction will bring this to pass.

The scarcity of workers in domestic service has served to bring the question of woman's labor

¹Moulder, *Life and Labor*, "Why National Kitchens Have Come to Stay," December, 1919, p. 316.

conspicuously to the front in some quarters, but in this field it has not interfered with the business of the country, only with comfort. As opposed to this, it is instructive to note an occupation where scarcity of women has actually wrought hardship to the business interests of the nation. The telephone industry presents another illustration of the shortage of women workers. This industry has always utilized the services of girls because their labor was cheap, and they were supposed to have a certain deftness in the work, and there seemed to be a limitless supply. The companies on the whole have provided good conditions of labor, but the actual work from its very nature has always been a heavy nervous strain. While lines of girls were waiting outside for vacancies, the companies did not concern themselves particularly with the effect of the occupation on the worker; instead they developed a system of regulations advantageous to the business, but which are now apparently reacting in the opposite direction, for girls are seeking easier fields of activity. This has demoralized the industry. It is a known fact that an operator does not reach maximum efficiency until she has been working at least two years. In New York State alone, not half of the operators have been employed that long. Added to this preponderance of inexperienced help, there is an actual shortage of from 700 to 1,000 workers. This combination of circumstances produces an acute situation. In Chicago the problem is similar.

Poor telephone service jeopardizes business interests, and is a serious inconvenience to the general public. The probable solution of this problem is the installation of automatic instruments. Under this system every man would be his own "central," and could lodge his complaints in a mirror, while the companies would go on side-stepping as before.

Owing to the situation which has been suggested, the governor of New York ordered an investigation into the working conditions of telephone operators, by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Industrial Commission. This report has been made public and is ably commented on in the *Survey*¹ for June 12, 1920. Telephone work, it seems, has always been somewhat poorly paid, and the working hours long, due to much overtime requirement, although the basic day is eight hours for day and night workers and seven for evening and split-trick operators. The wages,² including recent increases, range from a minimum of ten to fifteen dollars a week to a maximum of from seventeen to twenty-three, according to the size of the borough, or town, in which the operator is located. The maximum is given only after six years of service. There is also a system of annual gifts after two years' employment.

Working environment is practically always

¹Shellabarger, "Hurry, Girls, Hurry!" *The Survey*, June 12, 1920.

²*Ibid.*, June 12, 1920, p. 367.

good in telephone exchanges, and the companies are kindly in their dealings with girls, but the work itself is a great drain on the nervous system. An operator goes through fourteen processes to make an ordinary connection, and she must be swift and sure to give good service. The supervisor's "Hurry, girls, hurry!" doubtless spurs the girls to renewed effort, but it also adds greatly to the nervous strain, particularly when reinforced by abuse from subscribers.

It is not possible within the limits of this chapter to discuss other industries where a shortage of woman's labor is felt, or new and alluring openings for women, but it may be pointed out that there is a demand ¹ for girls everywhere. This is inevitable as there was practically no immigration for five years, and now many foreign women are returning to their European homes. Department stores start inexperienced girls in basement salesrooms on fifteen dollars a week plus a commission on sales in some cities, while other business concerns are continually advertising for girls at fifteen to twenty dollars a week plus attractions of one kind or another, and experience unnecessary, while any woman who dons a white dress can go out to nurse the sick at twenty-five dollars a week. The ease with which work can be obtained, particularly at certain seasons of the

¹Since these words were written, a change has come about in industry and there are now (October, 1921) many unemployed.

year, has produced a sporting attitude towards labor among young casual workers. A case came to my notice recently of a country girl of twenty, who in thirteen months had been assistant cook in a lumberjacks' boarding-house, a cherry picker, a waitress, a nurse for children and for the sick, a teacher in a dance-hall, a soap demonstrator in a department store, ironer in a laundry, and cashier in a restaurant. Her experience in the dance-hall was not pleasant. "But," she said, "you can't be too particular when you are earning money."

Another woman, in five months, has been cook in a family, laundress in a private home, day worker, cook in a cafeteria, child's nurse, invalid's nurse, worker in a laundry, and janitress in a school. She could have remained longer in each place had she desired to do so, but she preferred a vain quest for the ideal job, high wages, and nothing to do. And these are not isolated instances. It is these new conditions connected with the labor of women that cry aloud for consideration in the nation's reconstruction plans. Education, organization, standardization should be copiously injected.

The women who took men's places in industry during the war, on the whole did their work satisfactorily. In this country practically every occupation had its quota of women before the exigencies of war called them out to take their brothers' places. The only difference to be noted later was increased numbers in unusual places.

Women were blacksmiths and bricklayers, and furnace "men" and glass-blowers, and worked in quarries and mines and fertilizer factories before 1917, but they were few and far between. Ninety glass-blowers and thirty-one blacksmiths, for example, did not show up very conspicuously among the millions of people working for wages. Later we became familiar with the sight of women performing heavy tasks.

The replacement of men by women during the war was much more extensive in England than in the United States. Mr. Friedman¹ gives a list of thirty-eight occupations in which women were substituted for men. In three years, nearly 1,500,000 women took up work ordinarily performed by men.

The student of social welfare is, of course, primarily concerned with the moral and physical effect of such unusual types of labor upon the workers themselves rather than in their economic aspects, and it is upon these that reconstruction plans must be focused.

No discussion of the work of women today which omits mention of their so-called foolish expenditures is complete. We hear of it on all sides. Girls who, in the past had only a nickel for peanuts, now have dollars for silk stockings, and it is very disturbing. The divine right of kings has been banished from the earth, but the divine right to wear silk stockings is still a

¹Friedman, *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, pp. 98-99.

cherished doctrine in some privileged circles. It is therefore not surprising that there should be much criticism of the wage-earner who puts her newly acquired riches into such luxuries. In speaking of these matters a man of much wealth and wisdom said to me:

Why, in London last year, a woman trunk handler in trim uniform bent over to get the boxes on her truck, and she showed six inches of as handsome silk stockings as my wife ever wore. I could hardly refrain from remonstrating with her.

Another man in Chicago cited the case of his arrogant stenographer who has furs as good as his wife's. These gentlemen were questioning the rights, not the taste, of their employees.

In this connection, Miss Mary McDowell in an interesting article entitled, "Extravagance or Standards?"¹ quotes Mr. Seeböhm Rountree, an English authority on labor, as saying that the present apparent extravagance is only a rising standard of living. He told the following story: A lady, after addressing munition women on "War Thrift" asked if anyone had anything to say. One girl arose and said: "Yes, I have something to say. Savin's all right and very good, but I want to tell yees that my mother never in her life saw a whole roast chicken till I brought it home the first Sunda' after my first pay, and I want to tell yees that my mother's going to have a whole roast chicken every Sunda' as long as I can buy it." She then added: "I

¹*The Outlook*, December 10, 1919, p. 472.

always had to buy the cheapest blouses made, and at last I bought a silk blouse, and my young man came home on a furlough. He looked at me and said, 'Why, Maggie, what have ye done to yerself? I never saw you look like that.'" Then with a challenge in her voice, she added: "I want to say that, savin's or no savin's, as long as he talks like that, I'm goin' to buy silk blouses!"

We all know that it is extremely difficult to spend money wisely. Men of large wealth suddenly acquired, often make the silliest use of it. It requires imagination and much more to get beyond food and personal adornment in the matter of expenditure. The twenty-dollar-a-week clerk who buys twenty-one dollar shoes sees no incongruity in her act. Her sister who puts five weeks' wages in a coat feels that she can at last hold her head high among the mighty. Old-fashioned people have ideas about the suitability of clothes to time and station. The modern girl, fortified by her new high wages, flouts both, and goes forth to work dressed as for a festival. She is still intoxicated by money, and the seeming magnanimity of the installment-plan merchant. The laundress who, out of her four dollars a day, pays seventy cents a pound for turkey, while her employer gives thanks over chicken at thirty-eight, thinks that she is getting the best out of life. And the scrub woman who now scorns our old clothes, bidding us wear them ourselves, (which we do), is sure that she is not going "to waste her money by saving it."

But, by no means, are all of our newly enriched women reckless in their expenditures. They are all dressing better, and living better, and many of them are trying to lay by something for the inevitable rainy day. Standards of living are rising, and it is desirable that they should. A truly democratic society will suffer no wide divergence of comfort and decency.

Out of all this that is new so far as women workers are concerned, emerge new obligations for society at large. Perhaps instead of new obligations we might say a new emphasis on the old. Girls are still working long hours at monotonous tasks in factories and shops, and wrecking their youth in the effort. Nor have they all entered into the millennium of high wages. Speaking of monotonous processes, Carleton Parker¹ tells of a woman employed in the Stockyards in Chicago who made one precise stroke each second, or 3,600 every hour of every day she worked. People who think dish-washing is dull, have no conception of the absolute stupidity of many of the mechanical industrial processes, nor appreciation of the crying need for recreational stimulus in such cases, if the worker's mentality is not to become atrophied.

In the reconstruction of social and industrial life which is slowly, but surely, taking place, the status of women workers must be given consid-

¹Parker, "The Technique of American Industry," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1920.

eration. Women will profit by all the improvements that are introduced into the industrial life of men, and should be given the benefit of them. Their lives would be enriched by participation in the control of their own working conditions, and their interest would be stimulated thereby. An apparent wage prosperity is not enough to make useful citizens in a democracy out of wage-earning women. They need besides the guarantees and safeguards of legislation, education, and organization. A minimum wage, an eight-hour day, and other standards endorsed by such organizations as the National Women's Trade Union League of America, the Young Women's Christian Associations, not to mention other bodies, are not too much to ask of a reconstructed nation. Minimum wage legislation is in force in every English-speaking country outside the United States, and in some states of the Union, but the most populous industrial states lag behind in this matter.

Women have attained full citizenship as the first step toward reconstruction, but since a large proportion of the workers are too young to avail themselves of the ballot, it remains for others to fight their battles for them at the polls and in legislative halls.

A democracy that does not give enlarged opportunity to its women workers is only an autocracy below the surface, and merits oblivion. The new and reconstructed world can sanction only genuine democracy.

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CHAPTER V

AMERICANIZATION

AMERICANIZATION as a term is new, practically coincident with war activities, while Americanization as a process is old, dating back to the efforts of the Jamestown settlers and the Pilgrim Fathers to adapt themselves to their new surroundings. In those early days, it was not an organized movement that bore the connotation "Americanization;" it was rather a precious, though nameless, individual experience. Those early settlers came to the New World imbued with a spirit that was to stamp itself indelibly on the new home, and later to bear fruit in national traits. And it is those very traits, modified by the experience of generations, that call aloud for recognition today.

The nation went on for generations trustfully assuming that simple unaided participation in the social, political, and economic life, was the only thing necessary to make good citizens out of those who sought our shores. People were supposed to be imbued with the spirit of free institutions before setting sail for this haven, and could therefore be depended upon to make their own adjustments after their arrival. This as-

sumption tallied with the facts in the case of the earlier groups that came over after the beginnings of our independent national life. It was not until a later period that men came in great numbers, knowing nothing of the principles of liberty upon which the Republic stood, and who were too illiterate to enter into the life that awaited them. And the New World forgot them. Indeed it was not until after the opening of the World War, in 1914, that the nation realized the extent and influence of alien groups in our midst. Then, for the first time, it dawned upon the country at large that the United States contained millions of Europeans, alien in speech and aspirations; millions of men and women who were part and parcel of our industrial life, but whose interests were bound up in autocracies across the seas, and some of whom were ready to sacrifice the nation, if possible, to further the cause of despotism.

This knowledge was a shock to all but a few students of the immigration problem who had for years viewed with dismay the great unassimilated mass in our midst, and felt that a time might come when its presence would mean danger. Most people, of course, knew nothing of the lack of assimilation. They knew only vaguely of the foreign groups in the great cities, and thought of them, if at all, only as a by-product of our industrial development, and a somewhat picturesque by-product at that. We have taken our population problems lightly as a nation, glad that we

were growing big, and quite sure that we were growing strong. City slums became disturbing at times when epidemics raged, but these episodes were soon forgotten, and no one dreamed of the more insidious poisons that might be injected into our national life by the hordes that were with us, but not always of us. Poliomyelitis is not more menacing than *kultur*.

To understand clearly the conditions confronting the nation, it is necessary to review briefly the immigration movement into this country during the last hundred years. The first official records are for 1820. A full and interesting discussion of immigration is given by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus in his book on Americanization.¹ Here, it is possible only to sketch the movement. Prior to 1820, the settlers had been mainly of British stock, together with some Dutch, Germans, and Scandinavians. Probably not more than 250,000 people arrived between 1776 and the date just mentioned. In 1820 over 8,000 arrived, two-thirds of whom came from the British Isles. Banner years after that were 1842, with over 100,000, and 1854, with almost 428,000. A potato famine in Ireland and political revolutions in the German provinces were the leading causes for the greatly increased numbers who emigrated at this time. In 1851, 272,000 Irish came, and 215,000 Germans in 1854.

¹Bogardus, *Essentials of Americanization*, chaps. xi to xvi inclusive.

The Civil War checked immigration for a time, but the opening up of the West, by the building of railroads, and the return of general prosperity, caused Europeans to seek our shores again, and the year 1873 showed a total of 460,000. A financial panic in that year, put another check on immigration, but in 1882 the figures were high again, 789,000 being reported. Many Jews came that year owing to renewed persecutions in Russia. At this time, the character of our immigration began to change. The more illiterate races of southeastern Europe were drawn to America for divers reasons, and they brought lower living standards and different social and political ideas. And 1882 was the year in which the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed. The Chinese had come over in such numbers, while transcontinental railroads were being built, that their presence came to be deeply resented in those western states where they had settled, and could always underbid a white man in competition for a job. Their standard of living was on a totally different plane. Our first general immigration law also belongs to this year, but its terms were not stringent.

After this, numbers rose and fell like the ebb and flow of the tide as American prosperity or depression and European oppression dominated. In 1886, there were 335,000; in 1898, 230,000, and in 1905, over 1,000,000. In 1907, over 1,250,000 arrived, and about the same number in 1910, 1913, and 1914. Then came the World War.

Only 340,000 immigrants were reported in 1915, and 110,000 in 1918, while the year closing June 30, 1920, shows 800,000. It must be remembered that larger numbers than ever are returning to their European homes, although even normal times have shown a considerable homeward movement.

Thus in the passing of a century over 30,000,000 immigrants have cast in their lot for better or for worse with the United States of America, and upon them depends in large measure the strength and permanence of this country. Each group that has come has brought some contribution to the country of its adoption. And it is said that nations made up of diverse elements present the most virile civilization. Dr. Charles A. Ellwood states that, "Sociologists are generally agreed that the intermingling of peoples in the past has been a great stimulus to progress."¹

The United States, then, should rank high in progress, and it will rank higher than ever before when all the foreign elements are incorporated as an integral part into the social whole. Common language is not the only force making for solidarity, although the lack of it brought to light the pressing need for Americanization, and made it a basic problem of reconstruction.

When the American Army was formed, and it was found that it contained 500,000 young men of draft age who could neither speak nor write

¹Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 199.

English, the country was aroused. The changed character of our immigration since about 1885 was responsible for this anomalous situation. The earlier immigrants had come from countries in northwestern Europe where a high degree of literacy prevailed; while the later arrivals included many from countries, like Serbia, for example, where the rate of illiteracy is 79 per cent. In 1910, there were 3,000,000 foreign-born whites, ten years of age and over, in the United States who were unable to speak, read, or write English, and 1,500,000 who could not read or write any language. While immigration practically stopped during the period of the war, there is evidence that it has begun again in full force, and it is therefore necessary that some definite policy in regard to it should be adopted. For a hundred years, the dominating principle has been to admit everyone who sought admission, although, from time to time, certain barriers have been erected. It was found that the open-door policy was flooding the country with many types of undesirables. While the theory of keeping the way clear for all who wish to come is democratically sound, its practical application may be open to question.

The latest immigration law was enacted February 5, 1917, after acrimonious discussion over the literacy test. The most important of the thirty-eight provisions of this law, which went into effect May 1, 1917, are as follows:

1. (Section 2.) A head tax of \$8.00 for each immigrant to be paid to the Collector of Customs.
2. (Section 3.) The excluded classes are: idiots, the feeble-minded, epileptics, the insane, chronic alcoholics, criminals, vagrants, the physically and mentally incapacitated, polygamists, anarchists, contract laborers, Chinese, except certain professional classes, and those unable to read some language.
3. (Section 4.) The deportation of prostitutes or other immoral persons.
4. (Section 18.) The immediate deportation of aliens brought in violation of law.
5. (Sections 19 and 20.) The deportation of any alien, advocating or teaching anarchy or destruction, within five years after arrival.

It is not felt that this law meets the needs of the country, therefore the following amendments have been proposed and are pending at the present time:¹

1. The regulation of immigration on the percentage principle, with the application of this principle to each people or mother-tongue group separately, but impartially.
2. The annual admission of from 3 to 10 per cent of those of each people already naturalized, including the American-born children of that people as recorded in the census of 1920.
3. The creation of an Immigration Commission to determine annually the rate . . . with power to admit or exclude labor under exceptional circumstances, to formulate plans for distribution of immigrants, to

¹The law of June, 1921, went into effect since the above was written. This limits the number that may come from any country to 3 per cent of the number born in that country and resident in the United States in 1910. This is applicable for one year.

deal with special cases of importance, including the formulation of educational standards for naturalization.

4. The raising of the standards of qualification for citizenship, and the extension of the privileges of naturalization to everyone who qualifies.
5. The separation of the citizenship of a wife from that of her husband.
6. The repeal of all laws dealing specifically and differentially with the Chinese.

The wisdom of some of these provisions will be seen at a glance. Citizenship, for example, should clearly not be granted because of marriage, regardless of necessary qualifications. The reckless absurdity of granting citizenship to women simply because their husbands were citizens was shown in New York State after the recent enfranchisement of women. It was then found that 200,000 of the new citizens could neither read, write, nor speak English. A degree of literacy in the language of the country should unquestionably be made a condition of citizenship.

Many feel that the present is a time for more than ordinary caution in handling the question of immigration. The magnitude of the political and social disturbances abroad bids us beware of introducing more elements of unrest here, and such elements are likely to come in with an influx of foreign laborers who are coming now¹ in greatly increased numbers. In fact they are coming at the old rate of about 5,000 a day,

¹September, 1920.

800,000 having landed during the year ending June 30.

Speaking of this situation, the *Chicago Tribune*¹ says editorially:

Disorders in Poland and elsewhere in central Europe are stimulating emigration to the United States. These newcomers will get a physical examination at our ports to see that they do not bring in contagious diseases, and they will be otherwise examined, but not to discover what their state of mind is.

They are coming from lands of unrest and of revolutionary action, and we should like to know in what spirit they are coming, whether to make use of opportunities in a free land, with respect for its institutions, or whether they are bringing their hatred and prejudices, their revolutionary spirit, their class consciousness and their contempt for democratic institutions. We do not want European additions to the elements of unreasoning discontent in this country.

The problem at hand is difficult enough without injecting into it new trouble. It is not only difficult; it is colossal. As Professor Ross² points out, no nation has ever faced the task of trying to assimilate as many and as varied elements as the United States has in her midst. He also points out the fact that a third of our population is of foreign parentage, while between sixteen and seventeen millions³ are of foreign birth. Such arresting facts as these, together with the heavy percentage of illiteracy mentioned before, furnished the basis for the country's campaign of

¹Editorial, *Chicago Tribune*, September 5, 1920.

²Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, pp. 12-13, note.

³In war time.

education known as "Americanization." The following summary¹ presents the detailed reasons why the nation embarked upon this campaign while the war was in progress:

1. There are 13,000,000 persons of foreign birth, and 33,000,000 of foreign origin² living in the United States.
2. Over 100 different foreign languages and dialects are spoken in the United States.
3. Over 1300 foreign-language newspapers are published in the United States, having a circulation estimated at 10,000,000.
4. Of the persons in the United States, 5,000,000 are unable to speak English.
5. Of these persons, 2,000,000 are illiterate.
6. Of the unnaturalized persons, 3,000,000 are of military age.
7. In 1910, 34 per cent of alien males of draft age were unable to speak English; that is, about half a million of the registered alien males between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age were unable to understand military orders given in English.
8. War industries are largely dependent on alien labor; 57 per cent of the employees in the iron and steel industries east of the Mississippi; 61 per cent of the miners of

¹Hill, "The Americanization Movement," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1919, p. 612.

²Persons having one or both parents of foreign birth. Census for 1910.

soft coal; 72 per cent of workers in the four largest clothing manufacturing centers; and 68 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of construction and maintenance workers on the railroads are foreign born.

9. Only about 1.3 per cent of adult non-English-speaking aliens are reached by the schools.
10. Many large schools in American cities have been spending more for teaching German to American children than for teaching English and civics to aliens.

No comment is necessary to impress upon the reader the immediate necessity of having the country enter upon large-scale Americanization work, and of carrying it on without cessation till these unfortunate conditions have vanished. The war needs of the country disclosed the necessity for the education of foreigners; peace needs should serve to promote the work.

Teaching English and citizenship to adult foreigners is not new. For years it has been done through the not very successful medium of the night school in cities. The Y. M. C. A. also took up this work in industrial centers.¹ Dr. Peter Roberts of the International Committee was a pioneer in this field, and his lessons are still used widely. But when millions are to be educated, concerted action is necessary, and under some central directing agency. The investigation

¹Roberts, *The New Immigration*.

undertaken by Mr. Hill¹ revealed the fact that there were in the field a number of private bodies that might well undertake such work if they would, and he mentions among these the organizations of foreigners themselves. It appears that the thirty-three important racial groups studied have at least two national organizations each, and these fall into three general classes:

1. Those which exist "for the purpose of maintaining or securing the political unity and independence and perpetuation of their native land." The Polish Central Relief Committee of America embracing about 4,000,000 Poles is of this kind. Such an organization is not interested in promoting America's welfare.
2. The kind that "has for its main purpose the solidarity of the race in America." The Pan-Hellenic Union is an example. It "fosters the language and traditions and customs of the home country here and urges its foreign born to stay together." Naturally such a group cares nothing at all about becoming Americanized.
3. The type that exists "primarily to work for America and only secondarily for its native land." Organizations of this kind are neither numerous nor strong. The Croatian League of the United States is an example.

¹Hill, "The Americanization Movement," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1919, p. 614.

It is deplorable that so many millions of foreigners should have been left to drift into the formation of groups alien in spirit to the land which shelters them. It is largely due to a policy of neglect which must be changed in this period of reconstruction if Americanization is to be more than a catchword.

This is a New World problem which America must work out alone. Other nations have nothing to offer in the way of experience. Canada, Australia, and the Argentine Republic, however, should watch with interest the attempts at solving the assimilation problem here, for they, too, may find an undigested mass in their midst in the years to come. Before the war, these countries were receiving a considerable stream of migration from the Old World, although the numbers were not in any way comparable with those coming into the United States.

Large-scale Americanization work has been carried on in the United States since the formation of the National Americanization Committee in May, 1915, whose object was "to bring American citizens, foreign born and native born alike, together on our National Independence Day to celebrate the common privileges, and define the common duties of all Americans wherever born." The various states have entered upon the task with spirit, the work in Massachusetts being especially commendable on account of its successful correlation of all groups representing race, labor, capital, and social welfare.

Among cities, Cleveland is entitled to high rank. In 1914, the city had 80,000 foreigners, ten years of age and over, unable to speak English, and only something more than 11,000 in the schools. By means of generous financial appropriations, educational centers were opened all over the city, and special attention was given to women. The number reached was small in proportion to the need, but the campaign showed good methods of attacking the problem. It is difficult to keep weary adults interested in night school. This is the reason that the regular city night schools have not been more successful than they have in attracting large numbers of foreigners. The more alert and skilled will seek and find instruction in the English language, but the great body of dull and unskilled must be followed to their lairs.

Many large industrial plants carry on extensive Americanization work along more than mere linguistic lines. The D. E. Sicher Company¹ of New York, is a notable pioneer. Its work is done in cooperation with the city Board of Education. The Ford Motor Company of Detroit has an extensive school and it is needed, since there are at work in the plant fifty-three nationalities speaking over a hundred languages and dialects. This is a part of Mr. Ford's welfare work, the high wages and profit-sharing features of which startled the country some years ago. The

¹Manufacturers of muslin goods.

Pennsylvania Railroad System, with its 33,000 foreign-born employees, has carried on instruction in English for some time. Many other companies are equally deserving of mention for their Americanization work, carried on either by themselves or in cooperation with the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., but it is not possible to enumerate them here. If for no nobler reason than self-interest, all industrial plants employing the foreign born should help them to become citizens in the best sense of the word.

This is not the place to discuss methods of instruction since that is a pedagogical question, but we can at least insist that the human side of the problem should not be overlooked. The hand of fellowship is needed as well as the primer; the good neighbor as well as the good teacher.

While insisting upon the necessity for aggressive Americanization work, one word must be said about the attitude of the native born toward the foreigner. It is too often one of contempt, a feeling which is reflected even in children, and it has generated a deep and abiding resentment in the hearts of those lately come among us. The immigrants usually come from a low economic plane, but they are not devoid of feeling. They are exploited by the unscrupulous; jeered at by the thoughtless; and neglected by those who should protect them, and it is small wonder that they sometimes grow suspicious and think that the land of promise has become a land

of swindle. Dr. Carol Aronovici,¹ himself a foreigner, sees this tendency and pleads for a recognition of "the fundamental human values in the immigrant," and the removal of "all discrimination in discussion and treatment of foreigners." These foreigners are our brothers, and when the real test of war came, an overwhelming majority stood shoulder to shoulder with the native born, and proclaimed their brotherhood to the world. Professor Dallas Lore Sharp² pointed out that in a list of casualties printed one day in the *Boston Transcript*, six out of eight were names almost unpronounceable to the native-born American. These young men had given their lives for the country of their adoption; no native son could do more.

On the whole the foreign-speaking people have shown a remarkable degree of adaptability and exceptional eagerness to attain to the American standards. It takes time to acquire a language, two years at best, and more than that length of time to absorb the ideas of a new land. And when strangers arrive at the rate of a million a year, as they did for a few years preceding the war, it is not surprising that they should at first seek refuge in their own racial groups, to screen themselves from the strangeness of it all. Discouragement, too, often causes them to retire even farther from the haunts of

¹Aronovici, *Americanization*, p. 47.

²Sharp, "Patrons of Democracy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1919, p. 649.

the native born. The New World is not such a paradise as it was painted. Hunger and want stare them in the face here also. Money does not rain down on them as their hopes had pictured. Illustrative of this point is the story told to me by a young Swedish woman who came to this country at the age of eighteen. She said if someone had told her when she was leaving Stockholm that dollar bills were to be picked up on the streets of London, she would not have stopped there, for she was sure that two dollar bills were waiting to be picked up in New York. After thirteen years, she was ready to proclaim that they could only be dug out by hard labor.

The country has embarked on a great enterprise, and its accomplishment will require courage and persistence. Assimilating millions of foreign born is difficult, but some of the native born need Americanizing too, and the belated ones within our borders must not be forgotten. The 11,000,000 Negroes, the 2,000,000 Appalachian mountaineers and our 300,000 Indians need a stronger helping hand than the nation has yet given them if they are to attain to their highest spiritual stature.

The all-inclusiveness of the term "Americanization" is clearly seen by Dr. Aronovici when he says:

Understanding, tolerance, service, are the chief needs of the immigrant in process of Americanization. Beyond these efforts the Americanization movement applies to all the peo-

ple of America and comprises all education, all effort toward social justice, all striving toward national unity and national development.¹

Americanization is a great undertaking and it will bring forth great results if it goes forward "with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

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CHAPTER VI

THE NEGRO

A PROBLEM allied to that of Americanization and in many ways a part of it, yet in others quite remote, is that of the American Negro. He is a more serious problem now than he was at the close of the Civil War. The Negro is not alien in language and he dwells in the land of his fathers, but he is nevertheless of another race as surely as the Chinese or Japanese is of different racial stock. Yet unlike other races, he is here by no act of his own. Hence it seems reasonable to discuss him separately.

Although Americanization in its wide sense applies to all races of foreign origin within our borders, its more limited application is to those of foreign tongue who have come here from the Old World to better their condition.

At the time of emancipation there were 4,000,000 Negroes in the United States; today there are 11,000,000. This is less than a tenth of the entire population of the country, but since they are largely confined to the South, they form a large percentage of the people of that region as is shown by the following table:

PER CENT OF NEGROES TO POPULATION

Alabama.....	42.5
Arkansas	28.1
Florida	41.0
Georgia	45.1
Louisiana	43.1
Mississippi	56.2
North Carolina	31.6
South Carolina	55.2
Tennessee	21.7
Texas	17.7
Virginia	32.6

Certain localities show a much greater preponderance of Negroes than this. In one county in Mississippi, for example, there are six times as many Negroes as whites, while in another, there are ten times as many. In Jacksonville, Charleston, and Savannah more than half the people are black, but in spite of this, the Negro is not an urban dweller in the South. When he migrates to the North, he usually settles in cities for economic reasons, but in this respect, he does not differ from the migratory white man.

The Negro has been moving north for more than a hundred years, but the first movement of considerable extent was to the West. Between 1865 and 1868, about 140,000 Negroes left Georgia for western states.¹ They went in the hope of entering into the exercise of full political rights which emancipation did not bring to them in their home state. Another movement reached

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1918-19, p. 8.

a head in the spring of 1879, when upwards of 60,000 moved to Kansas and neighboring states. The first migrants were from the river counties of Mississippi and Louisiana. The white planters in the deserted areas fearing a labor shortage, started a campaign to bring back those Negroes who had gone, and to induce others to remain at home. It was not very successful, however, and the United States Senate finally authorized an inquiry into the causes of the exodus.¹ There was much heated controversy by all parties; the two most prominent Negro leaders in the country, Frederick Douglass and Richard T. Greener, taking opposite sides. The former held, among other things, that the South was the natural market for the Negro's labor, and that the principles of liberty would be best worked out for him in that region; the latter believed the best chance of the black man for political preferment and economic advancement was in the northern and western states. Mr. Greener, moreover, foresaw the inrush of immigrants from Europe and urged his own race to get the best western land before it was pre-empted by foreigners.²

But regardless of controversy, the Negroes rushed to the West in such numbers that suffering among them became acute, and relief societies had to be established. It is estimated

¹*Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd session, p. 104.

²Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, p. 140.

that 40,000 of the entire 60,000 arrived in Kansas destitute. The Kansans naturally were not particularly pleased by this invasion. Only about 5,000 of the total number went to other western states, and of these, according to Dr. Woodson¹ a goodly number found their way into Indian Territory, and were assimilated by the Indians who had always, even in slavery days, treated the Negroes as equals. But when the Territory was thrown open for settlement in 1889, bitter race prejudice on the part of the white settlers practically excluded the Negro. Other migrations took place before the World War, particularly into the Appalachian mining regions just before and after 1890, but the western movement outlined was the most extensive.

In addition to these migrations due to concerted action, there has always been an individual movement to the North on the part of educated and other ambitious Negroes. By 1910, the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis had large colored populations, while Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Boston each had a goodly number of black men. The total Negro population in the northern states in 1910 was over 1,000,000, 42 per cent of whom had been born in the South. Their geographical distribution was as follows:

¹Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, pp. 142-144.

New England States.....	76,000
Middle Atlantic States.....	414,000
East North Central States.....	401,000
West North Central States.....	242,000
Mountain States	21,000
Pacific Coast States	31,000

But all this is prefatory to mention of the startling exodus from the South during the years 1916-17. Although this movement started in 1915, and did not end till 1918, it reached its highest point in the years first cited. Unlike other migrations, this is said to have been leaderless. "The name of no individual, nationally or even locally, stands out anywhere as a leader in this movement. In the Southland, there was not a single meeting held in the interest of the movement."¹ Individuals and families apparently started simultaneously for the land of greater economic opportunity. And they went to the industrial centers. Estimates vary as to the number of migrants all the way from half a million to a million. It is probable that three quarters of a million is more nearly correct, a number sufficiently large to leave a great breach in the labor ranks of the South, particularly in certain agricultural districts.

It has been claimed that underground forces were at work to bring the Negro north; one, the desire on the part of certain captains of industry to break the Trade Union; another, an effort on the part of politicians to make

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1918-19, p. 9.

certain doubtful states safe for the Republican party. These are only surmises, and can have no great weight. The fact is that the Negroes came in train loads and they were not very welcome. It is one of the tragedies of the race that no white man wants a black man for a neighbor.

The editor of the *Negro Year Book* thinks that the causes of the migration were both economic and social, and enumerates them under the following heads:¹

ECONOMIC

1. Labor depression in the South in 1914-15, and demoralization in cotton prices owing to the war.
2. Ravages of the cotton boll weevil in 1915-16. This unsettled farming conditions.
3. Unusual floods over sections of the South.
4. The generally low wages which had always prevailed in the South.
5. Increase in the cost of living.
6. Shortage of labor in the North.

SOCIAL

1. Failure of the law to give protection against lynching.
2. Treatment accorded to Negroes in the courts.
3. Mistreatment of Negroes by officers of the law.
4. Lack of protection to Negro women and lack of legal redress for crimes committed against them by white men.
5. The "Jim Crow" car.
6. Disfranchisement laws.
7. The general neglect by the authorities of Negro sections in towns.
8. Lack of adequate school facilities.
9. Treatment accorded Negroes in many stores.

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1918-19, p. 12.

It is more than likely that all of these economic and social causes had more or less to do with the movement. Theoretically at least, the northern people are willing to give the colored man a chance, and extend to him equality under the law, but when it comes to sharing with him jobs and residential sections, riots frequently ensue. Racial feeling, of course, is strong all over the world, and a feeling of racial superiority is quickly developed in conquerors or early arrivals. The Negro is not the only one to suffer. We hear contemptuously spoken the words "dago," "sheeny," and "greaser" as well as "nigger." This, to say the least, is exceedingly bad manners which Americanization should correct. The fortunes of races change as the centuries pass, and it is egregious folly for the Brobdingnags of today to plant their feet on the necks of the Lilliputians.

The Negro's labor is a valuable asset to the South, and he feels more at home in that part of the country, but he is discriminated against socially, politically, and in law, as has been said. This is galling to the educated and to the ambitious; but even these do not always find the North the paradise their imaginations painted. Many of the migrants of 1916-17 have already trekked back to the cotton fields, discouraged by the pace in northern mills, and the hostility of organized labor; and they are finding a welcome.

These children of the African wilds have a place in American life, and it should be secured

to them by a nation busy with plans for reconstruction. Of the 46,000,000 Negroes in the world, 11,000,000 are in our midst, and their future must be worked out here. Plans for transporting them to Africa or any other place are chimerical. The effort to establish them in Liberia is grim testimony to the futility of such a scheme. Nations at war can transplant millions of men, but the commerce of the world is paralyzed by the undertaking.

The problem facing the country, then, is the educational development of the Negro so as to make him a more valuable element in American life, and this is not a problem for any one section of the country. It must be worked out by the North and the South together, and in cooperation with the progressive element in the Negro race.

The use of black troops in the war served to fix attention once more on the status of the Negro. At the time of the armistice, France had in her armies 150,000 combat black troops.¹ They came from Senegal, the Soudan, Somaliland, and Madagascar, and were used on the French front and in Saloniki, and won distinction. Great Britain also used many thousands of colored men in France, back of the lines, and in England, to free white men from labor in order that they might fight. The labor unions offered objections to this, on the ground that

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1918-19, p. 128.

it might be a step toward the exploitation of labor after the war.

While no definite figures are available as to the number of Negroes who participated in the World War, it is probable that there were over 2,000,000, counting all those used as combat troops and labor battalions in France, at Saloniki, at the Dardanelles, in Palestine, in Egypt, in the Kameruns, in Togoland, in German Southwest Africa, and in German East Africa.¹ And if all these gave as good an account of themselves as did the colored troops fighting under the United States banner, it can truly be said that they helped greatly in winning the war.

The Negro who went to Europe to fight for democracy would be dull indeed if the experience did not lead him to question the quality of democracy at home in its application to himself. The Negro who asks for equality under the law has a right to be heard, and his protest against lynching is entitled to consideration by the nation.

Of lynching there is nothing extenuating to say. It is with the keenest regret that we admit an average of about a hundred lynchings a year within the United States.² Ninety per cent of the lynchings are in the South. Rape is the alleged cause in a fourth of the cases, but flimsy excuses suffice when racial and evil passions are aroused. This is a crime that disgraces us in the eyes of

¹*Negro Year Book*, 1918-19, p. 129.

²Brawley, *Your Negro Neighbor*, p. 41.

the world, and was used as anti-American propaganda during the war. The best spirit of the South as well as of the North condemns this. A year ago, the Executive Board of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs drew up resolutions condemning lynching as a means of punishing crime "of any name or character."

The men who were brothers in the trenches should be recognized as brothers on the fields of peace. But, unfortunately, the jewel of consistency is not always a national adornment.

Housing conditions for Negroes in northern cities are extremely bad and present another problem. They have seldom been good. Now, owing to the shortage of houses for everyone, they are worse than ever. Colored sections are full to overflowing, and when well-to-do colored people have found homes in white districts, riots have ensued in Chicago and other places. Dr. Woodson¹ of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, portrays vividly the unspeakable living conditions of many colored people. He says of the recent migrants:

A large percentage of these Negroes are located in rooming-houses or tenements for several families. The majority of them cannot find individual rooms. Many are crowded into the same room, therefore, and too many into the same bed. Sometimes as many as four and five sleep in one bed, and that may be placed in the basement, dining-room, or kitchen where there is neither adequate light nor air.

Such crowded conditions breed vice, crime,

¹Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, p. 186.

and disease, and are a menace to any community. No body of people can thrive with such infected spots in their midst. Adequate housing is one of the conspicuous needs of the Negro in the North today; it has been a need for many years, and plans for reconstruction should heed this. The colored man is handicapped not only by poverty in getting a home; no amount of money enables him to live in a select neighborhood without protest from the white people. Since it is the mental temper of those in power that segregation must be practised, it becomes the duty of the state to insist that decent homes be provided for the colored in specified districts.

Another grave need of the Negro is greater educational opportunity along all lines. Higher education should undoubtedly be provided for those who can profit by it, but the greater number will profit most by learning how to work efficiently and how to live healthfully and morally. Booker T. Washington was the most notable advocate of the need for industrial and agricultural training for his people, and Tuskegee Institute is a noble monument to his memory. His ideas had great weight among white people in the South, and have influenced their attitude toward the education of the black man.

In 1907 the Southern Educational Association adopted the following resolutions¹ in regard to Negro education:

¹Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, pp. 111-12.

1. We endorse the accepted policy of the states of the South in providing educational facilities for the youth of the Negro race. . . .

2. We believe that the education of the Negro in the elementary branches of education should be made thorough, and should include specific instruction in hygiene and home sanitation, for the better protection of both races.

3. We believe that in the secondary education of Negro youth, emphasis should be placed upon agriculture and the industrial occupations, including nurse training, and home economics.

4. We believe that for practical, economical, and psychological reasons Negro teachers should be provided for Negro schools.

5. We advise instruction in normal schools by white teachers whenever possible.

6. We recommend that in urban and rural Negro schools there should be closer and more thorough supervision. . . .

7. We urge upon school authorities everywhere the importance of adequate buildings, comfortable seating, and sanitary accommodations for Negro youth.

8. We deplore the isolation of many Negro schools, established through motives of philanthropy, from the life and the sympathies of the communities in which they are located.

9. We insist upon such equitable distribution of the school funds that all the youth of the Negro race shall have at least an opportunity to receive the elementary education provided by the state. . . .

The Negro has made great progress since emancipation when only a bare 10 per cent could read and write. Now 60 per cent are literate; a notable achievement in half a century, it must be admitted.

Christian philanthropy has built many institutions for Negroes in the South. The work at

Hampton and Tuskegee is known everywhere. But more and better common schools are needed so that all may participate. Vice and crime thrive on illiteracy with Negroes as with other races. The educated Negro is not filling the criminal classes. He is giving a good account of himself in industry and in his community, and the nation owes him a square deal.

The Negro has his faults, but vindictiveness is not one of them. He is usually willing to forgive past discrimination against himself, and accept a helping hand when it is offered. While races of alien tongues are being assisted on the road to the best our democracy has to offer, the Negro, too, should be remembered.

Dr. Bogardus¹ suggests that a reasonable program for Negro advancement should include wholesale education along all lines, the keeping open of the ballot to all who are ready to exercise its prerogatives, and the undermining of race prejudice. This is not asking too much for 11,000,000 Americans who in actual practice are generally denied the right of self-determination.

Another solution of the problem of race relations which may well be presented here is that adopted at the annual conference of the National Urban League held in Detroit in 1919. This appears in the *Survey*, November 29, 1919, in an article by Mr. Hill.² This league which has

¹Bogardus, *Essentials of Americanization*, pp. 112-14.

²Hill, "Why Southern Negroes Don't Go South," *The Survey*, November 29, 1919.

thirty local branches, "endeavors to improve the conditions in cities where whites and Negroes live." It represents both races, and urges upon the country the guaranteeing of the following:

1. That working and living conditions of Negroes will be fair and decent.
2. That transportation accommodations for Negroes will be equal to those provided for white people.
3. That adequate educational facilities will be provided for Negroes.
4. That the Negro will be given fair treatment and will be protected in buying and selling.
5. That the life and property of every Negro will be protected against all lawless assaults.
6. That the Negro will be assured of equal justice in the courts.

No fair-minded American can withhold justice from anyone, and least of all, can he withhold it from fellow-Americans. The war gave the American Negro his opportunity. The migration to the North focused attention upon his industrial value, and gave him more confidence in himself. A shortage of workers pushed him up into new branches of skilled labor hitherto practically closed to him. And he has demonstrated his worth.

A reconstructed America, which seems a long time coming, will insist upon an affirmative answer to the question: "Am I my brother's keeper?" And the color of the skin shall not be the determining element in brotherhood.

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CHAPTER VII

HOUSING

IF Mr. Percy Alden's¹ statement that "a very fair test of a civilization is the housing of the people" is true, most countries today may well feel ashamed of the type of civilization they represent. Mr. Alden, who is a noted English settlement worker, knows well the ill effects of inadequate housing, both upon the immediate victims of miserable homes, and upon the health of the next generation, and his standard may safely be accepted. Democracy cannot thrive under the blighting influence of improper homes. Yet one-third of the people in the United States are living in dwellings that fall below a reasonable minimum standard, while "one-tenth are living under conditions which are an acute menace to health, morals, and family life."² This in itself is enough to warrant the inclusion of housing among the vital problems of the age.

But the United States is not alone in enduring the discomforts of a shortage of homes for its population. All countries directly affected by the war are in like straits. A million homes are

¹Alden, "The Difficulties of the Housing Problem," *The Contemporary Review*, December, 1919, p. 644.

²Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner*, p. 7.

needed in England, according to some estimates, while a lower figure is given by the more conservative. Everywhere is heard the same story of crowding and high rents, and a determined effort to seek relief. Slum dwellers have long endured crowding, and a little more huddling together is accepted by them without protest. But the situation is changed when the articulate element of the population finds itself jostling its neighbor in dark rooms at exorbitant rentals, or facing the possibility of no rooms at all. To get a place to live in at any price is a problem in some cities today. A homeless world is a sorry spot for democracy to thrive in, but it is an excellent breeding place for sedition. Therefore cold logic, without the aid of sentiment, should be able to rouse the states and municipalities to action. Lack of construction during the war, and the enormous increase in the cost of building material and labor, have conspired to place city homeseekers in a miserable plight; and this should make housing a first charge upon reconstruction plans.

Housing is no new problem, but the war focused attention upon it anew in this country, when it was found that manufacture of war essentials was checked because the workers, summoned from all parts of the country to industrial centers, had no place to live. No man who has not a decent home can do good work, and no country can prosecute a war successfully without having its industrial workers at maxi-

mun efficiency. Most private industrial enterprises had overlooked, or ignored, the important fact of the relation between decent living and output; but the nation in time of stress could not afford to overlook anything that retarded production.

To meet a war emergency, therefore, the United States Housing Corporation attempted to provide housing for workers in essential industries.¹ The undertaking was halted by the signing of the armistice, but about six thousand houses, and sixty-four dormitories had already been built in twenty-five places all the way from Vallejo, California, to Bath, Maine, and remain as an example of what can be done by federal initiative. The actual cost to the Housing Corporation of a six-room wooden dwelling in 1913 was \$2,972. In 1919, the same dwelling cost \$5,002. A brick house cost \$3,586 in 1913, and in 1919, \$6,110. These figures carry the secret of the housing shortage today. Low-priced buildings for the working population cannot be erected profitably enough to attract private capital. Wage-earners cannot pay fancy rents; their only alternative is to crowd a little closer. It is a generally accepted principle that working people cannot pay more than one week's wages for one month's rent without scrimping their families on other necessities. If private builders, who in the past have looked after the housing needs of

¹*The Survey*, September 15, 1920, p. 701.

the people in a hit-or-miss way, can no longer meet the situation adequately, then we must, in the words of the *New Republic*,¹ "make up our minds that urban housing is essentially a public function," and proceed accordingly. To quote further from the same editorial:

Either we shall have cities in which work can be done efficiently and economically, and life can be lived healthfully and hopefully, or we shall have cities that are hives of exploitation and disease and disorder, a plague upon our American civilization.

The housing problem has invaded all kinds of communities. Not only the great cities find many of their people homeless; the smaller industrial centers are also casting about for dwellings for their workers. And in this connection, the experience of Wilmington,² Delaware, is worthy of emulation. This industrial city has increased 19 per cent in population since 1914, owing to ship-building and other war activities. To help meet the need for homes, the federal government erected 500 houses in 1918. After the signing of the armistice, private enterprise did not take up the work of building as was expected. Consequently, a Joint Committee on Housing was formed, which reported a need of homes for 7,800 people, or the construction of 1,500 dwellings in the immediate future.

¹"The Common Sense of Housing," (Editorial), *The New Republic*, September 8, 1920, p. 34.

²Gulick, "Attacking the Housing Problem," *The Survey*, March 20, 1920, pp. 763-65.

The report states:

This lack of homes is a vital problem. It has already been felt in dangerous overcrowding, in excessively high death and infant mortality rates, in rent profiteering, in decreased industrial efficiency, in increased labor turnover, and has actually resulted in driving workers and business to other cities where homes can be found. . . . Wilmington cannot expect to grow without first meeting its housing problem; it cannot get new business without an adequate supply of efficient labor; it cannot man the industries without housing the man. Whole families cannot live in one room and rear strong, healthy children. The wage-earner cannot pay half his earnings for rent and still support his family. The foreigner cannot be Americanized when forced to live in un-American surroundings.

The startling truths contained in this statement led to the adoption of a constructive housing program, which provided for the erection of homes for selling and rental purposes, on favorable terms by a housing corporation composed of business men, and the establishment of a million-dollar, limited, dividend-bearing fund. Increased costs make the private builder timid about erecting houses which are almost sure to prove a loss in a few years, when rented or sold at figures which the unskilled laborer can afford to pay. Wilmington's plan would bear imitation in other cities now groaning under overcrowding. Concerted action is the only method of meeting a situation that has become alarming all over the country.

The housing situation in New York is desperately acute. Conditions are worse there than in

any other American city because there is now, as always, greater rushing of people into that metropolis than elsewhere. During the period of the war the thousands who went away were offset by the thousands who came in to carry on various war activities. Foreigners returning to their own countries, and the cessation of immigration failed to cause a falling off in population. Indeed, during the three years and a half beginning in 1917, there has been a normal increase.¹ But there has been far from a normal increase in the number of houses erected. There is a shortage of at least 50,000 homes in New York City today.

Fantastic proposals for remedying the housing situation in New York have not been lacking. One reformer advocated the immediate building of an additional story on the top of all existing apartment houses. The well-nigh insurmountable difficulties connected with such extensive building operations in densely crowded buildings had evidently not occurred to him. Another proposal, reported by the newspapers, is to use unoccupied homes for those who cannot find abiding places. It appears that an investigation carried on in New York City reveals about 250 closed mansions with numerous and spacious rooms. These, it is asserted, could be made to accommodate 10,000 people, and should be com-

¹Stein, "The Housing Crisis in New York," *The Survey*, September 1, 1920, p. 659.

mandeered by the city to meet an urgent housing need.

While the solemn grandeur of vacant palaces must always be an irritating spectacle to the homeless, the conversion of those palaces into tenements does not appear to be a satisfactory solution of the housing problem.

A much more logical proposal¹ comes from the Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York. This includes three recommendations:

1. That a law be enacted requiring the appointment of local housing boards in communities having a population of over 10,000 and the appointment of a central state housing agency for coordinating local effort.

2. That a constitutional amendment be enacted permitting extension of state credit on a large scale and at low rates to aid in the construction of moderate-priced homes.

3. That an enabling act be passed permitting cities to acquire, and hold, or let, adjoining vacant lands if necessary to carry on housing. These proposals are submitted in the hope of relieving a situation that has become well-nigh intolerable. The immediate future must find a way out, and the extension of state aid in some form seems to offer hope now.

The whole question of the location of industrial plants is inextricably bound up with projects for housing the people. City transportation in the rush hour has become a horror. Too many people must move in the same direction at the same time under our present arrangements. Any housing reconstruction plans that overlook this fact are inadequate. The great majority of

¹Stein, "The Housing Crisis in New York," *The Survey*, September 1, 1920, p. 661.

people must live reasonably near their work places. They can afford neither time nor money for long morning and evening journeys. The sane solution of the difficulty, therefore, seems to be to scatter the work places. Great industries should not be located in great cities, but outside where the employees could live in villages near-by, or in garden cities such as have been developed in England, where all the people can walk to their work and have some ground to till if they wish it. Planning for the future has not become a habit with American municipalities, although city planning is not now considered chimerical. Haphazard growth has demonstrated its own futility.

The contented middle class little thought, ten, or even five years ago, when it was endorsing schemes for housing the poor, that it would have a housing problem of its own today. Yet it has one. Accommodations are difficult to secure and rents are exorbitant. People are driven into hotels that are overcrowded and expensive. And on all sides one hears complaints. In some places, quarters cannot be found for teachers. In a certain university town, last year an instructor paid \$80 a month for two basement rooms. A woman advertised a three-room furnished apartment in the same town recently, and had 164 responses in the first mail thereafter. Another tiny apartment that was rented furnished last winter¹ for \$65 is now bringing \$110.

¹1920.

Owners have doubled rents in many cases, and this is working serious hardship among people whose salaries have not increased proportionately, and upon those whose incomes are stationary. Home owners alone are untouched by the turmoil, save in so far as lack of labor and rising costs affect them.

A European monarch thirsting for world dominion has brought America to such a pass. We need to be prepared at home against the devastating effects of any future international cataclysm. We need a housing program far-reaching enough to render a recurrence of the present situation impossible.

Housing reform in this country is a century old. In New York, immigrants coming in after the War of 1812, created an overcrowded condition that caused the health department to utter a note of warning. During the next few decades, we find desultory efforts to improve matters. The first official investigation, however, did not come until 1857, when the state legislature appointed a committee of five to examine tenant conditions in New York and Brooklyn. The lengthy report of this committee reveals deplorable conditions.

Tenements developed from mansions abandoned by their owners, because of the encroachments of business. These were let to several families on a floor by enterprising real estate agents, and they made desirable enough homes at first, but pressure of population led to the

cutting up of large rooms into many small ones regardless of light and air. Stables in the rear were also converted into dwellings for many people. Finally some ingenious person saw the prospect of greater profits from erecting barracks all over the spacious lots, and thus the old-time tenements came into being. Sweatshops and disease flourished together in fire traps not fit for human beings to dwell in, till the somnolent public conscience was again aroused in 1900, and a new tenement house law enacted the following year. Much improvement resulted from this, but the ground gained has been lost, and conditions are as bad as ever, perhaps worse, since every abandoned rookery is now occupied by a population crying out for homes. The experience of the nation's greatest city is, in a measure, the experience of all. Buildings go up for business and recreation, but not for habitation. Films must be screened though Rome has no place to lay her head.

Now what is the purport of all this? Description can be added to description, and yet it all beggars description. Sufficient is known of the situation to warrant a few sane proposals for its relief. As social reform grows out of tyranny, so better housing grows out of bad. Worms do sometimes turn.

A few facts stand out prominently as a result of our brief survey of the situation, and they are as follows:

1. Human beings drawn together for business or industrial purposes must be housed at rates they can afford to pay.

2. Good housing is a fundamental need.

3. Unregulated greed is a dangerous landlord.

4. Cataclysms do occur in nations as in nature, and the rational thing is to be prepared for them.

5. The world offers ample experience in improved housing enterprises to form the basis of a reconstruction program here.

In regard to the first four, enough has been said. We may, therefore, proceed to a brief outline of meritorious undertakings and regulations in this and other countries, particularly in regard to the housing of wage-earners.

The term "model tenement" has a familiar sound, because it has been cried in our ears for some years, and it simply means a building "of standards higher than those prevailing."¹

As early as 1845, we find the birth of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes in England. At the present time this association provides homes for over 5,000 people. Nine years later a similar, but less successful, organization was launched in New York. Boston came next with model homes in 1871, and Brooklyn followed with the well-known Alfred T. White model tenements, built between 1878 and 1890. These set

¹Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner, America's Next Problem*, p. 91.

a new standard at that time, but are not quite up to our present bath requirements. Then 200 families luxuriated in six baths located in the basement.

Within the last generation various British cities, such as Glasgow, Birmingham, and London have experimented on a large scale with municipal, as well as private, housing enterprises.

About thirty model tenement properties, in addition to those operated by the City and Suburban Homes Company, are all that America's greatest city has to show the investigator, and these, of course, belong to the pre-war period. Philanthropy and 4 per cent apparently do not make a strong appeal to those who have capital to invest in building. The City and Suburban Homes Company of New York is the largest owner and operator of model tenements in this country, taking care of about 11,000 people. It is said that, all told, not more than 20,000 people are housed in model tenements in New York City. This is a small number compared with those who should be living under better conditions than they are at present. And it is a small number compared with the 125,000 people similarly housed in London.

It may be a matter of surprise to many that the only American who ever gave a great sum to build homes for working people, gave it to the city of London in 1862.¹ This was Mr. George

¹Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner, America's Next Problem*, p. 92.

Peabody, whose gift amounted to \$2,500,000. This Peabody Donation Fund houses about 20,000 people. There are two other housing trusts in London, the Guinness and the Sutton, the latter having available funds worth \$10,000,000. These trusts have no stockholders and no dividends. Any surplus of the rent that remains after expenses are paid goes back into the fund. Such housing undertakings are purely philanthropic. The only undertakings in this country at all comparable to the London trusts in spirit, though not in vastness of funds, are the Charlesbank Homes in Boston, founded by Mr. Edwin Ginn in 1911, and the Mullanphy Apartments in St. Louis, the former having about one hundred apartments, and the latter over thirty. This indicates, according to Mrs. Wood¹ that "pure philanthropy cannot be described as the American method of solving the housing problem."

But the whole story of housing the industrial classes does not end with model tenements. Model villages existed in America before the United States Housing Corporation undertook to provide them for war workers. A generation ago, Pullman, Illinois, was built by the Pullman Palace Car Company for its employees. Sanitary conditions were excellent, and there was an attempt to introduce the element of beauty into

¹Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner, America's Next Problem*, p. 93.

the flat, unlovely prairie; but the men were not allowed to buy the houses in which they lived, therefore good schools and all else went for naught. There seemed to be an impression, too, that men who lived outside the town in order to get cheaper rents, or to own their homes, were discriminated against in the plant. The enterprise was finally abandoned by the company, and the property sold. Pullman is now a part of the city of Chicago, and has entirely lost its early character. Pullman's failure was due to an excessive paternalism, which workmen in this country deeply resent. But this experience did not deter other companies from similar undertakings. There are in the United States, at the present time, over two hundred industrial towns built by employers, and they are of three varieties — good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the best known are LeClaire, Illinois, built by the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, where an excellent spirit prevails; Goodyear Heights, near Akron, Ohio, built by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company; and Hopedale, Massachusetts, where the Draper Company houses its unskilled workers.

While some of the housing enterprises in this country are commendable in their effort to combine beauty and utility for low rents, it is the English undertakings that give us the industrial garden city at its best. Lord Leverhulme, whose

recent experiments with the six-hour day¹ in the manufacture of Sunlight soap, has a model town, at Port Sunlight, near Liverpool, for his employees. It is a lovely village, where, judging from appearances, the workers dwell healthfully and happily. Bournville, near Birmingham, is another very attractive garden city, built by the Cadbury Cocoa concern. This is one of the older examples, dating back to 1879, although it was not till nearly twenty years later that building on a large scale was undertaken. Anyone acquainted with the charm of such English villages must ardently wish that American employers would build for beauty as well as for shelter.

Continental countries, too, have their quota of housing enterprises, but it is not necessary here to go into details concerning them. It is sufficient to indicate that there is evidence of an enlightened movement in most civilized lands to house the workers adequately. It is a movement that should be endorsed more generally by employers here. Enterprises free from the taint of paternalism, which is so galling to workmen in the United States, are sure of success. The employer has no safer investment open to him than that which lies in the health and happiness of his employees. No nobler work in Americanization can be performed than providing the working people with homes up to the best

¹Leverhulme, *The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions*, chap. III, p. 34.

American standard. Thirteen of our states¹ have housing laws applying to some, or all, of the cities within their boundaries. Provision for the large cities is ordinarily made first, since the evils of bad housing are more apparent in large centers. But lawmakers should not assume that smaller places do not need regulating.

Great Britain is nearer solving her housing problem than any other country. According to the *New York Times*:

The providing of homes for all classes has been accepted by the nation as a public responsibility. In consequence the British people are perhaps nearer a solution of the dilemma than any other nation.²

Parliament has ceased haggling over ways and means, and has accepted the principle that adequate housing is an offset to revolution, and is offering bonuses to builders. The stimulating effect of this measure is now being felt. A permanent policy can be adopted after immediate needs have been satisfied. People cannot wait for shelter while lawmakers discuss policies.

Canada,³ too, is moving in the direction of building homes for her people. The Dominion Government recently made a loan of \$25,000,000 for national housing. The amount was distributed among the nine provinces, according to

¹Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Indiana, California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois.

²*The New York Times*, January 2, 1921.

³Buckley, "Government Housing in Canada," *National Municipal Review*, August, 1920, p. 481.

population, at 5 per cent interest. The provinces will administer the fund. About 35,000 houses have already been erected in accordance with the act. Town-planning principles have been adopted for the purpose of giving dwellers in even the humblest houses the benefits of space and beauty.

Even before the World War, practically all civilized countries recognized the necessity of housing regulations and had placed laws on their statute books. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Belgium¹ had one of the earliest constructive housing laws. It is also one of the best. But nearly a generation before the enactment of this law of 1889, societies for the construction of workmen's houses were organized, and actively at work. Prior to 1889, these societies had expended over 8,000,000 francs in the erection of houses.

Sweden, Spain, Rumania, Luxemburg, Chile, Brazil, and Cuba, as well as the larger nations, had enacted housing laws before the days of a house famine, which only serves to show that housing is an issue of paramount importance at all times. During ordinary years, when there has been no world upheaval to disturb the general trend of building, the higher economic groups can usually look after their own needs, but this is not the case with the unskilled, and they must, therefore, be taken care of by the nation, the state, or the municipality. This does not mean

¹Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner, America's Next Problem*, p. 164.

that they need charity — by no means — but they must be provided with homes which they can rent or buy at figures commensurate with their earnings. The nation's work, neither in peace nor in war, can be carried on properly without adequate homes for workers, and the war-purged nations must recognize this. Reconstruction of our social and economic systems is futile, unless the foundation stone of good housing is placed beneath the structure which we hope to see arise from the chaos of the past few years.

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CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

THE democratic ideal must include an educational program that would fill with surprise adherents of an aristocratic culture. Learning in a democracy may not hold itself aloof from the life of the common people. Many believers in culture for culture's sake have feared that the democratization of learning would mean its commercialization, and would fain withhold intellectual advancement from those who might, by force of circumstances, turn it to commercial uses. But the idea of the sanctity of learning is giving way to a more rational utilitarianism which seeks to use the best products of life, of which education surely is one, for the general advancement of all the people because they are the keepers of the world. No more do we trust to the few to preserve society, since in a moment of lust they may destroy it. We now place our faith in the many, and they must have at least a modicum of education if reasoned actions are to prevail. Again, educational opportunities must be extended if human groups are to progress. History shows that substantial social progress is impossible without education. Successful democracy rests upon literacy. It is not necessary, however,

in these twentieth-century days in the land of freedom, to enlarge upon this phase of the subject. Everyone admits the necessity for education of classes and masses alike, the only question being one of method. Free instruction from kindergarten to university is the ideal in many states, and mere formal learning is giving way all along the line to work of a practical character.

Our chief interest here is in education in a program of reconstruction, and our aim is to discover ideas and movements that commend themselves to believers in the social value of an educated proletariat. People of means can provide desirable instruction for themselves, if not in one place, then in another, but wage-earners and their children must have schools near their door if they are to be of value to them. Such schools, therefore become a community matter and all the people profit by them.

With the growth of the democratic ideal has grown up the somewhat new belief that education is a social rather than an individual matter, and that its aim should be the development of useful citizens to function in a better world. Says Professor Ellwood:

Education exists to adapt individuals to their social life. . . . The social function of education is to guide and control the formation of habit and character, on the part of the individual as well as to develop his capacity and powers so that he shall become an efficient member of society.¹

¹Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 359.

The good citizen can be developed only by the most painstaking effort. The small child must be made to realize that he does not live for himself alone. If he learns this lesson well, he will not as a man be a social menace. "We are all members one of another" is something that must be learned. It is the *laissez-faire* idea that seems innate. Wars and their accompanying horrors have come from the latter principle. If we are to arrive at a higher social order it will be by systematic training of each individual, not only in the elementary branches, important as they are, but in the more difficult field of human relationships.

Socialized education is the demand of an era of reconstruction.

The ultimate reliance in all social reform or social reconstruction must be upon the education of the individual. . . . Only by raising the intelligence and character of the individual members of society can a higher type of social life permanently result.¹

Much emphasis is now being placed on the socialization of men. Mere gregariousness is not socialization. The mere teaching of people in groups does not make those groups social. It may make them shrewd and efficient, but it may leave them very poor citizens. And a democracy must have good citizens. An individualized, commercialized education may produce a race of cultured rogues who are a menace to the social

¹Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 354.

order. Professor Ellwood¹ points out that the latter years of the nineteenth century were saddled with this type of education, and, in consequence, frequently failed to produce good citizens. It is not sufficient, therefore, that youth be herded in schools. That were a simple task. The soul of youth must be saturated with the idea of the oneness of men. So long as men use their education to get the best of their brothers, there will be revolutionary unrest, and an unstable state of society. To prevent this all grades of education must be given a social slant. The elementary, as well as the higher schools of the future, will know how to convert embryo bandits into law-abiding citizens, and good citizenship will go hand in hand with literacy. Then individual success will not be incompatible with social service. As has been said:

Our higher education should have the ideal not of individual power and success, but of social service; and this means that in addition to the technical or professional education which the more highly educated are giving, there must be a sufficient knowledge of social conditions and the laws and principles of social progress given them to enable them to serve society rightly. Intelligent social service cannot exist without social knowledge.²

The best instrument yet devised to foster democracy and to promote the ideal of socialized knowledge is the public school. While we are ready to admit that it often falls far short of its

¹Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 362.

²*Ibid*, p. 304.

possibilities in these two directions, in practice, the theory underlying it is sound. For the masses of the people this is the only feasible means of securing an education, and no effort is too great to expend in making it the best possible kind of institution.

We may posit then the free public school as the basic stone in a democratic system of education. Children from the various economic strata find there a common meeting place where friendships can flourish regardless of the parents' financial rating. Professor Dallas Lore Sharp paid a beautiful tribute to the public school as the fundamental institution of democracy in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1920, when he spoke of the youth with unpronounceable foreign names, who went from the schools hand in hand with boys of American birth, to fight for the maintenance of the democratic principle, and laid down their lives for it. Boys who are friendly as children will understand each other through life.

But the public school as an institution needs no defense. It needs only protection from politics. Education is too sacred a matter to be at the mercy of political partisans. The management of schools should be undisturbed by local or national issues. The best methods for training children to be good citizens are the issues to be considered, and they are paramount.

For many years our schools proceeded on the assumption that education and life were but dis-

tantly related, an assumption that gave us many educational absurdities, for example, high-school courses, college preparatory in nature, when an almost negligible proportion of the students went to college.

The natural conservatism of people makes it difficult to effect changes in public institutions, and when we remember that education for the many is of comparatively recent origin, it is not surprising that our schools slowly give way to the idea that education is only for the leisure classes, and has nothing at all to do with those who labor, since they were long considered entirely beyond the pale. Professor Ross says that, . . . in every society the propertied classes instinctively cherish and propagate the idea that work is contemptible. They are bound to do this lest their social position be ruined by the spread of the rival idea that work is worthy, whereas habitual idleness is contemptible.¹

In such an atmosphere the school has evolved. It is small wonder, then, that the introduction of courses designed to help the worker earn a livelihood should meet with opposition. There has grown up the idea that learning which has no practical value confers a measure of elegance upon the possessor, and on this account it is cherished by pedants and snobs today. Even the lowly are more or less affected by it, and have not always been friendly toward the teaching of manual arts when such instruction was manifestly to their own advantage. Commenting upon

¹Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 600.

this paradoxical attitude, Professor Ross says: "The wives of butchers and bakers and farmers feel the lack of gentility in tools, and are bleakly inhospitable to the industrial features of the school."¹

But in spite of an aristocratic stamp, education is coming into its own in this country with the growth of the idea that the general intelligence must be raised if democracy is to be preserved.

The old hit-or-miss methods of instruction were not entirely successful. The "little red schoolhouse" did not always turn out adepts in even the three Rs. The child with an avid appetite for facts would glean them from books with little or no assistance from his teacher, and the dreamer could dream his dreams alone, but the dullard slipped along with an occasional prodding from a ferrule and emerged from school unburdened by knowledge if not as ignorant as when he entered. School days were often a time of trial to all concerned. No one dreamed of adapting the school to the child or of trying to discover his strong points. His weak points were in evidence.

But the light finally broke through the darkness, and modern methods were introduced into the public schools, and experimentation still goes on, leaving much to be desired, particularly in rural schools. It is not the purpose here to take up the pedagogical question of content of courses

¹Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 600.

and methods of instruction, but rather to point out the advance that has been made along the line of socializing the school and otherwise making it the handmaid of democracy. We must therefore note the introduction of manual training, domestic science, the industrial arts in general, in short all that is implied in the term, "vocational training" as a move in the right direction. When children can learn by doing, school becomes an interesting place to them, and when they learn to govern themselves while doing, they are far on the road to good citizenship. Learning and living then become one. Since the majority of children in the schools, or three out of five, are destined to earn their living by the sweat of their brows, it seems only fitting that the school should be closely linked with life and work.

The continuation school too, deserves commendation. What is more necessary in a democracy than that children who leave school to enter industry as soon as their state law permits, should be given a chance to continue their education under proper guidance, and at hours which will not interfere with the working day. In our cities which have a large immigrant population, such schools are essential to thorough Americanization.

It goes without saying that good teachers are necessary if the schools are to be good. Therefore every effort to raise the standards of the teaching force should be encouraged. There is

great variation among different states in regard to teachers' training. "In one state four-fifths of the teachers have only an elementary education, while in others all are at least normal-school or high-school graduates."¹ In some states the pay offered is much higher than in others, and higher salaries naturally attract a better-trained class of teachers. The teacher of the future must understand human relationships better than he has in the past, if children are to grow up with a more wholesome respect for the obligations growing out of such relationships. Good citizenship implies a recognition of these obligations. In a successful democracy, each man is his brother's keeper, and he must be imbued with the fraternal spirit in childhood, if he is to exercise it properly in manhood.

Europe is also responding to the cry of youth for an education that fits for life. Many laudable undertakings were checked by the war, and others that had persisted for years were discarded because they failed to meet the demands of a new world. At a public-school conference held in Berlin in July, 1920, Germany laid the foundations for a new educational system. France recognizes, as never before, that a new social order can arise only on the foundation of proper instruction of the children. Anatole France in addressing French teachers said:

¹Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 602.

In developing the child you will determine the future. What a task at this hour, when the world is crumbling, when the old order of society sinks under the weight of its sins; It is for you to create a new humanity, it is for you to awake a new intelligence, if you do not wish Europe to fall into madness and barbarism.¹

Czecho-Slovakia, too, has started a campaign to lessen the illiteracy of her people by schools modeled on the American plan. Bohemia has long been known for her emphasis on education, but other districts of the new republic show an illiteracy rate as high as 75 per cent. If the present vigorous measures are carried out, the record for the next generation will be a vast improvement on this.

But there is need in a democracy for higher education as well as for the elementary kind. There is need of training for business and the professions as well as for the factory and farm; and there is also need for that cultural training which enriches the spirit of man. Colleges and universities filled to overflowing offer testimony that the youth of the United States appreciate opportunities for higher education. In a society that is dominantly industrial, a movement away from classical learning is inevitable. The emphasis will be rather upon the sciences, physical and social, and their basic and subsidiary studies. The monastic idea of education projected itself even into the twentieth century, but it is vanishing fast before the onrush of a new

¹*The Survey*, November 13, 1920, p. 255.

day. The tendency of such a reaction is to minimize the inestimable contribution of the learning of past ages to modern civilization. Higher education might be made so practical that culture, as we now understand the term, would be shoved off the shores of democracy. That would be deplorable. An opportunity for each to enjoy the "best life" which was accepted in an earlier chapter as the criterion of democracy should be held to include participation in the richest scholarship, if that is desired. The extension of so-called practical education should not be interpreted to mean dwarfing the intellectually great, for democracy has need of these.

Another significant phase of education is that of the adult workers. The spirit of this has been well stated by Philip Snowden:

I would rather have better education given to the masses of the working classes than the best for a few. "O God, make no more giants; elevate the race."¹

Deprived of schooling in childhood and early youth, laboring men and women are now trying to secure for themselves the advantages of learning. They believe that knowledge is power, and they are going to have it. This movement has a social value out of all proportion to its numerical importance. Working people are in the majority in this country, as well as in others, and when their representative organizations put the seal of

¹Quoted by Arthur Gleason, *Workers' Education*, p. 39.

their approval on education for their members, the problem of securing a more intelligent citizenry is half solved.

There is nothing particularly new about classes for workers. These have been provided by social settlements, and other welfare organizations for a generation. As early as 1854, there was a Working Men's College in London. It was started by the efforts of John Ruskin and Charles Kingsley who viewed with concern the widening breach between workers and non-workers caused by the growth of industrialism and the expensiveness of education. This was well received. Years later University Extension carried the leaven of learning into the hinterland, and the labors of Arnold Toynbee and others in this field foreshadowed the social settlement movement in England and America. Thus, step by step, have the workers been led along the bypaths of education by men and women who have made the cause of labor their own. The significant feature of the more recent developments in adult workers' education is that the initiative has been shifted, and today it is Trade Unions, cooperative societies, and the like that are doing the organizing. It has been said that workingmen seeking an education are interested first of all in a new social order, and they are therefore keenly alive to such studies as will acquaint them with the best methods of bringing about a changed society. To this end they ask for courses in industrial history, economics, and other social sciences,

socialism, the labor movement, and public speaking in order that they may be able to pass on what they have learned to other groups. There is also some demand, especially from women, for literature and recreational arts. In some instances a wider variety of courses is desired.

The Trade Union College is now an accepted fact in many American cities. The teachers are forward-looking men and women drawn mainly from local institutions of learning. Discussion is an important feature of the class, while the examination is practically non-existent. Formal tests are not necessary for the serious students, and they are useless for those seeking only entertainment. The United States has now in good running order about twenty-five experiments in this new type of education for the adult worker. The Boston Trade Union College, under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union "was organized shortly after the end of the World War to help prepare the workers of New England for the rôle of increasing importance which labor is to play in the new social order."¹ This was the first college to be started by the central labor body of a city, and it has been watched with considerable interest. Full information concerning American and foreign experiments of this character are set forth in Mr. Arthur

¹Gleason, *Workers' Education; American and Foreign Experiments*, p. 27.

Gleason's pamphlet on *Workers' Education*.¹ It is not necessary to go into further detail here in regard to American efforts, nor to insist on their value. That is self-evident, and adult education is now the watchword of many who are looking forward to a new era.

England furnishes one of the most interesting experiments in this line that the world has seen. This is the Workers' Education Association. It has realized the education of the masses in a sense hitherto unknown. Started in 1903, it has extended its work all through the British Isles, in rural as well as in industrial regions, with branches in Canada and Australia. An outgrowth of this, the World Association for Adult Education, founded in 1918, has branches in twenty-six countries. The work is carried on by the united effort of Trade Unions, cooperative societies, and universities, all three groups contributing to the support of the movement. Democracy thrives on such undertakings.

The continent of Europe, too, furnishes illustration that the educational needs of labor are being carefully considered. The Peoples' High Schools in Denmark are a case in point. It is said that Belgium, through the Central Board for Workers' Education has

. . . . the most comprehensive undertaking for the education of the workers by the workers, and for the pur-

¹Published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, New York, 1921.

poses of the labor movement itself, that has been made in any country in Europe.¹

The schools are of three degrees: the elementary local schools, the district schools, and the higher national schools. There is also an elaborate plan to provide higher education for the workers, and even now a National Labor School has been established, and special traveling scholarships good for three months have been provided for the best pupils, so that they may taste the advantages of study in another country. Workers in Belgium, as elsewhere, are primarily interested in economic problems, the history of the labor movement, the principles of socialism, and allied subjects, and these naturally appear in the syllabi. The work in the classroom is informal, but it calls for teaching of a high order. Adult workers at school would never tolerate the mediocre teaching so often imposed on college youth. It is a chastening experience to teach adult working people, as anyone who has tried it knows. The scrutinizing mind of the worker flays academic platitudes, and the teacher is forced into giving his best thought to his task. If he does not do this, he is despised and rejected.

Even a hasty glance over the field of educational endeavor shows at least a tendency to introduce democratic features everywhere. This should encourage those who are working on

¹De Man, "How Belgian Labor is Educating Itself," *The Survey*, September 1, 1920, p. 667.

reconstruction programs, but it should not satisfy them. Education must be socialized if democracy is to be saved. That is the great educational task confronting the nation today.

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CHAPTER IX

RADICALISM

THE number of persons opposed to the existing order of society varies inversely with the liberty enjoyed by individuals in that society. Where tyranny is grinding, opposition is fierce although it may be voiceless. Oppression breeds rancor, and the oppressed seek a way out. Those who propose a way out are the radicals of the time. And the radicals of today may be the conservatives of tomorrow. Dissatisfaction is bound to occur in any human society. Even among the angels jealousy is said to have arisen and paradise was lost to some because of it. Petty grievances appear in any group, and they fret the souls of men for a time. But there are also wrongs that should be righted, and these have led to the great reform movements of the ages; they have led to revolution and deadly war. The leaders were radicals, but they justified their radicalism.

The kind of radicalism current in a democracy is, however, different in degree if not in character, and manifests itself mainly in oral or written protest. This protest may assume the proportions of a political party, or it may be only a voice crying in the wilderness. Ordinarily the

rank and file of the people pay little heed to the toy pistols of the discontented, while the government is sublimely unconscious of any commotion. But when nations are at war, the condition is changed, and even whispered protests may be menacing. The United States, as well as the European countries, is just emerging from such a sensitive period, and it therefore seems pertinent to inquire at this time, what constitutes radicalism and what treatment should be accorded to it in a democracy. Destructive criticism of the government in war time should doubtless be silenced when it might lend aid and comfort to the enemy. The nation has an indisputable right to say that those who are not for her are against her.

We have seen in the foregoing chapters that conditions in the land of freedom are not all that they should be. The forces of reconstruction are needed to work out more desirable situations, but the forces set in motion by governing bodies are frequently slow in accomplishment, and those who are eager for improvement often grow, first impatient at delays, and then distrustful of promises. This leads to discontent which, as it increases in volume, results in organizations quite out of sympathy with the powers that be. In other words the radicals go to the root of the matter at once and are unsparing in their criticism. Since no group has a monopoly of wisdom, conflicts of opinion are bound to occur.

As a criticism of adverse social conditions, radicalism in its varied forms should act as a wholesome stimulant to democratic enterprises. The sincere radical reconstructionist is entitled to a respectful hearing; but the demagogue with an open throttle is a menace to any society, no matter what shade of political or social belief he represents. And the demagogues are not all found sitting in the seats of the scornful. Democracy has some vulnerable points, and one of them is the ease with which demagogery flourishes. The rights of free speech and free assemblage give to the false prophet his opportunity. It is easy to play the game of follow the leader. The average human individual detests the laborious mental processes involved in thinking, therefore, he is quite ready to accept the ready-made thought of someone else without questioning its validity. Fads in religion and politics and social life thus gain great headway if presented in an attractive manner.

It takes no special discernment to see that such a situation opens the way freely to the promotion of all kinds of doctrines from indigenous Republicanism to exotic Bolshevism. Democracies are not exempt from the consequences of human nature. Radicalism will have its adherents as well as conservatism. And when injustice prevails, the former will become vocal. Radicalism is after all only advanced thought proposing new remedies for old ills. There is nothing in this to cause fright; there is much to call for respectful

attention. It is only the extremists on both sides who create ferment.

It is not the purpose here to go into details in regard to the varied forms in which radicalism manifests itself in this country, but rather to outline the general situation.

Since the ignorant and weak are the ones most readily exploited by the educated and powerful, it is not surprising that these should flock to the standard of radicalism when it offers a way out.

*The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes;
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.*

And because most of the ills of the ignorant and unskilled are due to unfortunate industrial conditions, it is quite understandable that a good deal of their venom should be directed against the institution of private capital, which they feel perpetuates the evils. In this they are aided by many persons who, though they have not themselves experienced industrial hardships, are, from the highest motives, ready to take up the cause of the oppressed. Then there are those who are temperamentally in favor of every kind of rebellion against authority. They are like the Irishman who, upon seeing a street fight, rushed up inquiring, "Is this a private fight or can anyone get in?" It is the people of this class who are the most difficult to deal with, and who are most likely to cause trouble in a democracy as

well as in countries with less liberal forms of government. Their conduct is rarely reasoned, and suggestion plays a great part in determining their lines of activity. As a noted psychiatrist says:

You can more easily convince some people by a hunger strike than you can with a lecture on mental contagion. They will not, or cannot, see that a man who substitutes his stomach for his reason as the umpire of his cause, and stakes the morality of his case on his ability to withstand starvation, is dangerously near to lunacy. His fight is no better than the old ordeal by fire or water, or the old wager of battle, and it is not nearly so picturesque.¹

Such people are the greatest enemies of any cause. They are transients in thought who are bent upon one reform today and another tomorrow. They go zestfully on their way, often welcoming martyrdom if it be conspicuous. They are the notoriety seekers who ally themselves with any cause and frequently bring odium upon it. An entirely worthy cause is often injured by unbalanced adherents, but no good purpose is gained by persecuting them. They are annoying like mosquitoes. At any time they may act as malaria carriers in a country at war. These must not be confused with honest radicals who protest because they must. The freedom enjoyed in a democratic country simplifies the machinery of protesting groups. There is no need for underground passages. It is not necessary to maintain

¹Lloyd, "Mental Contagion and Popular Crazes," *Scribner's Magazine*, February, 1921, p. 203.

secrecy when objectors to the present order are within the laws of the land. This facilitates organization.

Undoubtedly the strongest voice of protest in this country is that of the socialists. Socialism in its more moderate forms has exercised a beneficent influence on American society by focusing attention on social maladjustments; for wrongs never are righted until someone talks about them. Many undertakings formerly considered socialistic are now carried on in various municipalities by old-time political parties, and no one feels that the ship of state has grounded on the shoals of radicalism.

The extremist offshoots of socialism attack present society with a ferocity that exhibits surprising vigor. They look forward to a catastrophic revolution to usher in a new age, and are willing to go to any lengths to bring this about. A monkey wrench thrown into the machinery, a bullet fired into a human head, a bomb planted under a house—all these are methods of extreme radicalism with which we have become only too familiar during the last few years. Nothing worse could be perpetuated under Czarism. But the United States is not the only country that has to deal with fanatical groups bent on destruction. This is heartening perhaps, but not explanatory. Any country that has large bodies of people living close to a bare subsistence level is a target for such practices, regardless of its form of government. A democracy with a hetero-

geneous working population can become a center of unrest, as well as an absolute monarchy. A liberal form of government alone will not allay discontent over unfavorable industrial conditions.

Universal suffrage apparently does not provide work and homes and comforts and pleasures for all. There are many here who have no permanent work, only hovels for homes, and none of the joys of life. Such people respond readily to revolutionary doctrine. Bertrand Russell's idea that the aim of politics should be to make men happy really belongs in the democratic scheme, but in actual practice the aim of politics seems to be to make the politicians happy. A vote is an empty honor to a hungry man; it will not make him loyal to his government. He asks for something more tangible and nourishing. The famished lives of the poor are a blot on the scutcheon of democracy, and one must needs be a reactionary indeed not to lend a sympathetic ear to their miseries. Vachel Lindsay voices our feeling when he says:

*Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly,
Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap,
Not that they serve, but have no gods to serve,
Not that they die, but that they die like sheep.*

A society that fosters grave inequalities among men through its industrial system must not be surprised at ominous sounds of revolt. The sounds are a symptom, and stifling will not cure

the disease. The whole question of free speech thus becomes an issue that cannot be dodged in a democracy by the assertion that free speech is guaranteed by the constitution. The guarantee must be more than a "scrap of paper" if free men and women are to be satisfied. Talking about troubles is a comfort to a social group as well as to an individual, and should not be interfered with even though it be a petty annoyance to the listener. The open forum is a safety valve in times of discontent. The soap-box orator is a safer person than the one with flaming thoughts and muzzled mouth.

Anyone who has followed the crowd on a Sunday afternoon in Hyde Park, London, where for many years everyone with a grievance has been free to air it, and has heard all kinds of social, political, and religious heresies expressed, feels the strength of the nation that does not fear free discussion. A man here may be fiercely demanding the abolition of the House of Lords, while one there is inviting everyone to secure a home in "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." He who can get an audience may impart his views. The fact that many views are not worth imparting would be small justification for taking away the privilege.

In our own country there is an amazing sensitiveness in some quarters to any restrictions whatsoever upon the utterance of one's beliefs wholly regardless of their character. Hostility

to the war-time Espionage Acts furnishes a case in point. People sometimes forget that the greatest good of the greatest number must be the determining factor in the policy of a democracy whether in war or peace. He who wants to vent his venom against things as they are is not always a savior in embryo. By all means let there be freedom to speak in a democracy, but there must also be protection for those who may be injured by vituperation. Because Emerson bade us "beware when the Great God lets loose a thinker on the planet" is no reason for believing that everyone who breaks loose from sober opinion is a thinker, and must be heard with reverence.

After looking over in a general way, the subject of the place of radicalism in a democracy, one thought emerges, and it is that a democracy which aims to be something more than a mere gesture of liberalism should make every effort to root out the evils that render men miserable and breed strife. Child labor should be abolished and compulsory education substituted. A wholesome, happy childhood should be the lot of every child. Health-destroying processes should be eliminated from industry by the aid of scientific discoveries; and men and women should not be kept at work to the breaking point. Miss Josephine Goldmark's remarkable studies¹ in the

¹Josephine Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1912.

effects of fatigue prove conclusively that the overworking of laborers is bad business as well as bad morals. The terrors of unemployment should be eliminated in order that workers would not be haunted by the fear of starvation. Careful planning and cooperation could dovetail seasonal trades. The ingenuity of one man practically removed the seasonal features of the shoe industry, which had always been a serious drawback to the workers in that trade. Similar foresight in the management of other industries could help to remove a potent factor in discontent. The boll weevil is no more of a menace to the United States than unemployment, yet the former has received much more consideration from the government. The saving of the cotton crop is surely of no greater importance in a democracy than the cultivation of a healthy, happy, and useful body of wage-earners. Reconstruction plans must consider this, and reconstructionists must proceed to remove certain obvious causes of class hatred. There still will be a residue of ills which will continue to disturb mankind in an imperfect society, but the most fertile causes of rancorous radicalism will have been eliminated.

Democracy's first task, therefore, is to render herself blameless of charges of criminal neglect of even the least of her children brought against her by the dissatisfied; and after all that is done, to lend a respectful ear to the voice of sane pro-

test. Then perhaps all will be ready to recognize the mutual interdependence of men and say with Edwin Markham:

*There is a destiny that makes us brothers;
None goes his way alone;
All that we send into the lives of others
Comes back into our own.*

*I care not what his temples or his creeds,
One thing holds firm and fast —
That into his fateful heap of days and deeds
The soul of man is cast.*

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